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WESTERN AMERICANA

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A
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE
WESTERN TERRITORY
OF
NORTH AMERICA, *&c.*

Charles A. Hardy

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A

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE
WESTERN TERRITORY
OF
NORTH AMERICA;

CONTAINING
A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT
OF ITS
CLIMATE, NATURAL HISTORY, POPULATION,
AGRICULTURE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
WITH
AN AMPLE DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL DIVISIONS INTO WHICH THAT COUNTRY IS DIVIDED.
And an accurate Statement of the various Tribes of
Indians that inhabit the Frontier Country.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED
A DELINEATION OF THE LAWS AND GOVERNMENT
OF THE
STATE OF KENTUCKY.

TENDING TO SHEW THE PROBABLE RISE AND
GRANDEUR OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND IN
ENGLAND.

◆

By G. IMLAY,
A Captain in the American Army during the late War, and a Commissioner
for laying out Land in the Back Settlements.

◆

NEW-YORK:
PRINTED by *SAMUEL CAMPBELL*,
NO. 37, HANOVER SQUARE.
M,DCC,XCIII.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Author of the following Letters having been an early witneſs to the ſettlement of Kentucky, had frequently ſuggeſted to me the importance of that riſing country. But I confeſs that, with every deference to his judgment, I was not aware how deſervedly it had been eſtimated as of the utmoſt conſequence. A momentous æra, during ſeveral years of which the eyes of the whole world were attentively fixed upon Europe, had ſo entirely occupied my mind, that, regardleſs of occurrences in the remote parts of America, I felt no incon-

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inconſiderable aſtoniſhment at finding that Kentucky was to be admitted as a ſeparate State into the federal government.

It ſtruck me as a natural object of enquiry to what a future increaſe and elevation of magnitude and grandeur the ſpreading empire of America might attain, when a country had thus ſuddenly riſen from an uninhabited wild, to the quantum of population neceſſary to govern and regulate its own adminiſtration.

It was under this idea that I requeſted my friend to ſend me, at his leiſure, a complete deſcription of the weſtern country of America; an enumeration of the laws and government of Kentucky; and an account of that diſtrict of country which appeared the moſt likely to become a new State.

All this he has done in ſo ample a manner, that when the news of the defeat of General St. Clair was received, I thought that the letters in queſtion would prove acceptable to the Public, as imparting to them a more particular knowledge of that country, ſo apparently the bone of contention between the Indians and the Americans.

Conceiving a newſpaper to be the moſt proper channel of communication, I offered a copy of ſuch of the letters as I had then received, to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle. But the important criſis of the time, with reſpect to parliamentary buſineſs and European politics, did not admit of his devoting ſo large a ſhare of that excellent paper to their inſertion, as the length of the letters would have required; and to have mutilated them, would have been doing injuſtice to the Author, and leaving the information incomplete. But as ſeveral other of his letters have ſince come to my hands, I have determined to publiſh them in a book, not doubting but that the world will receive as much information and amuſement from them as I myſelf have experienced.

It is very certain that no work of the kind has hitherto been publiſhed in this country; and when original matter is brought before the Public, ſurely it cannot fail to prove acceptable to the philoſopher, and entertaining to the curious.

The occaſional remarks, which he

has interſperſed, reſpecting the laws, religion and cuſtoms of Europe, are entitled to the greateſt indulgence, as I believe them to be made with the greateſt candour.

A man who had lived until he was more than five-and-twenty years old, in the back part of America (which was the caſe with our Author, except during the period he ſerved in the army), accuſtomed to that ſimplicity of manners natural to a people in a ſtate of innocence, ſuddenly arriving in Europe, muſt have been powerfully ſtricken with the very great difference between the ſimplicity of the one, and what is called etiquette and good breeding in the other.

Perhaps ſuch a perſon is better calculated than ourſelves to judge of our manners; and doubtleſs habit very materially acts upon the human mind; and ſince it has been too much the practice in Europe to confer favours in proportion to the ſervility of courtiers, I am apprehenſive that we have imperceptibly loſt much of our energy and manlineſs.

The calculated riſe of the American empire, which theſe letters contain, will not, I think, appear extravagant, when we recollect the rapid ſtrides which have advanced it to its preſent flouriſhing ſtate of wealth and population.

In the life of Edward Drinker, which was publiſhed in Philadelphia, April 1783, are contained theſe remarkable particulars.

" Edward Drinker, was born in a cottage in 1688, on the ſpot where the city of Philadelphia now ſtands, which was inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders.

"He often talked of picking blackberries, and catching wild rabbits, where this populous city is now ſeated. He remembered the arrival of William Penn, and uſed to point out the ſpot where the cabin ſtood in which that adventurer and his friends were accommodated on their arrival.

"He ſaw the ſame ſpot of earth, in the courſe of his own life, covered with woods and buſhes, the receptacles of wild beaſts and birds of prey, afterwards become the ſeat of a great and flouriſhing city, not only the firſt in wealth and arts in America, but equalled but by few in Europe.

"He ſaw ſplendid churches riſe upon moraſſes, where he uſed to hear nothing but the croaking of frogs; great wharfs and warehouſes, where he had often ſeen the ſavages draw their fiſh from the river; he ſaw that river afterwards receiving ſhips and merchandize from every part of the globe, which, in his youth, had nothing bigger than an Indian canoe.

"He had been the ſubject of many crowned heads; but when he heard of the oppreſſive and unconſtitutional acts paſſed in Britain, he bought them all, and gave them to his grandſons to make kites of; and embracing the liberty and independence of his country, after ſeeing the beginning and end of the Britiſh empire in Pennſylvania, and after triumphing in the eſtabliſhment of freedom, he died in Nov. 1782."

I repeat, that when we recollect the wonderful changes which have taken place during the life of one man, in Pennſylvania, under all the diſadvantages with which the population of that country was attended, as well as the reſt of America, poſterity will not deem it extraordinary, ſhould they find the country ſettled quite acroſs to the Pacific Ocean, in leſs than another century.

I will ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of America amount at preſent to four millions of ſouls at leaſt, and that their population doubles once in twenty or twenty-five years; at the end of a hundred years their numbers will be ſixty-four millions.

This

This is a very ſimple but very obvious truth. To be ſenſible of this, we have only to mark the ſtages of its growth. For whether the ſource of its amazing fecundity is owing to the great proportion of room which the extent of its territory affords, ſignifies very little, as it does not appear likely that any material alteration, in that reſpect, will take place in the courſe of ſo ſhort a time as a century; as the expanſion of its dominion will ſecure the ſame advantages to population.

The immenſe extent of the American empire abounds with all climates, with every kind of ſoil, and with rivers ſo various and extenſive, that it ſeems calculated to become a rival to half the globe in trade and riches.

Some obſtructions have interfered with the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, which were as repugnant to ſound policy on the part of Spain, as it was diſtreſſing to the people of the weſtern country.

It was under that coercion that the people of Kentucky in convention, in the year 1788, petitioned the United ſtates, upon the ſubject of their grievances; who, in conſequence, remonſtrated with the Court of Spain upon that ſubject, when ſome indulgence was granted, tho' that navigation was not entirely liberated.

This petition contains ſentiments ſo pure, and ſo manly, that I think there cannot be a better idea conveyed of their diſpoſitions and manners, than by inſerting it at full length.

“ *Fathers, Fellow-citizens, and*
Guardians of our rights,

“ As we addreſs you by the appellation of fathers, we rely on your paternal affection to hear us; we rely on your juſtice, as men and citizens, to attend to the wrong done to men and citizens; and as a people recogniſed by the ſolemn acts of the union, we look for protection to the federal head.

“ When the peace had ſecured to America that ſovereignty and independence, for which ſhe had ſo nobly contended, we could not retire with our Atlantic friends, to enjoy, in eaſe, the bleſſings of freedom. Many of us had expended, in the ſtruggle for our country's rights, that property which would have enabled us to poſſeſs a competence with our liberty. On the weſtern waters, the commonwealth of Virginia poſſeſſed a fertile, but uninhabited wild. In this wilderneſs we ſought, after having procured liberty for our poſterity, to provide for their ſupport.

"Inured to hardſhips by a long warfare, we ventured into almoſt impenetrable foreſts—without bread or domeſtic cattle, we depended on the caſual ſupplies afforded by the chaſe—hunger was our familiar attendant, and even our unſavoury meals were made upon the wet ſurface of the earth, with the cloud deformed canopy for our covering.

Though forced to pierce the thicket—it was not in ſafety we trod—the vile ſavage thirſted for blood, lurked in our paths, and ſeized the unſuſpecting hunter."

"Whilſt we lamented the loſt friend, a brother, a father, a wife, a child became the victim to the barbarian tomehawk——Inſtead of conſolation, a new and greater misfortune deadened the ſenſe of former afflictions. From the union we receive no ſupport; but we impeach not their juſtice. Ineffectual treaties, often renewed, and as often broken by the ſavage nations, ſerved only to ſupply them with the means of our deſtruction.

"But no human cauſe could controul that Providence which had deſtined this weſtern country to be the ſeat of civilized and happy people.

The period of its accompliſhment was diſtant, but it advanced with rapid and incredible ſtrides. We derived ſtrength from our falls, and numbers from our loſſes—the unparalleled fertility of our ſoil made grateful returns, far diſproportioned to the ſlight labour which our ſafety would permit us to beſtow—our fields and herds afford us not only ſufficient ſupport for ourſelves, but alſo for the emigrants, who annually double our numbers, and even a ſurplus ſtill remains for exportation—this ſurplus would be far greater, did not a narrow policy ſhut up our navigation, and diſcourage our induſtry.

" In this ſituation we call for your attention—we beg you to trace the Miſſiſſippi from the ocean---ſurvey the innumerable rivers which water your weſtern territory, and pay their tribute to its greatneſs—examine the luxuriant ſoil which thoſe rivers traverſe. Then we aſk, can the GOD OF WISDOM AND NATURE have created that vaſt country in vain? Was it for nothing that he bleſſed it with a fertility ſo aſtoniſhing? Did he not provide thoſe great ſtreams which enter into the Miſſiſippi, and by it communicate with the Atlantic, that other nations might enjoy with us the bleſſings of our prolific ſoil? View the country, and you will anſwer for yourſelves. But can the preſumptuous madneſs of man imagine a policy inconſiſtent with the immenſe deſigns of the DEITY? Americans cannot.

" As it is the natural right to the inhabitants of this country to navigate the Miſſiſippi, ſo they have alſo a right derived from treaties and national compacts.

"By the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1763, between the crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, the free navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi was aſcertained to Great Britain.

"The right thus aſcertained was exerciſed by the ſubjects of that crown, until the peace of 1783, and conjointly with them by the citizens of the United States. By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independency of the United States, ſhe alſo conceded to them the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi.

"It was a right naturally and eſſentially annexed to the poſſeſſion of the weſtern country. As ſuch it was claimed by America, and it was upon on that principle ſhe obtained it. Yet the court of Spain, who poſſeſs the country at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, have obſtructed your citizens in the enjoyment of that right.

"If policy is the motive which actuates political conduct, will you ſupport this right, and thereby enable us to aſſiſt in the ſupport of government?

"If you will be really our fathers, ſtretch forth your hands to ſave us; if you would be worthy guardians, defend our rights. We are a member, that would exert every muſcle for your ſervice. Do not cut us off from your body. By every tie of conſanguinity and affection, by the remembrance of the blood which we have mingled in the common cauſe, by a regard to juſtice, and to policy, we conjure you to procure our rights.

"May your councils be guided by wiſdom and juſtice, and may your determination be marked with deciſion and effect! Let not your beneficence be circumſcribed by the mountains which divide us; but let us feel that you are really the guardians and aſſerters of our rights. Then you would ſecure the prayers of the people, whoſe gratitude would be as warm as their vindications of their rights will be eternal—Then our connection ſhall be perpetuated to the lateſt times, a monument of your juſtice, and a terror to your enemies."

John T Sargent

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

THE taſk you have given me, however difficult, I undertake with the greateſt pleaſure, as it will afford me an opportunity of contraſting the ſimple manners, and rational life of the Americans, in theſe back ſettlements, with the diſtorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans: which have flowed no doubt from the univerſally bad laws which exiſt on your continent, and from that pernicious ſyſtem of blending religion with politics, which has been productive of univerſal depravity.

While ignorance continued to darken the

horizon of Europe, prieſtcraft ſeems to have forged fetters for the human mind, and, in the ſecurity of its own omnipotence, to have given a ſtamp to the writings, and opinions of men, that rivetted the tyranny of theſe ingenious ſophiſts—The conſequence has been lamentable in the extreme.

Theſe are æras favourable to the riſe of new governments, and though nature is governed by invariable laws, the fortune of men and ſtates appear frequently under the dominion of chances: but happily for mankind, when the American empire was forming, philoſophy pervaded the genius of Europe, and the radiance of her features moulded the minds of men into a more rational order.

It was the zenith of your power, and the inflated grandeur of viſionary plans for dominion, which the remains of gothic tyranny produced, that gave occaſion to the riſe of our independence. We claim no merit or ſuperior wiſdom in avoiding the complication of laws which diſgraces the courts of Great-Britain, as well as the reſt of Europe. We have only appropriated the advantages of new lights, as they have ſhown upon us; which you have an equal chance of doing; and your not doing it, muſt remain a monument of your folly, calculated to excite the aſtoniſhment and indignation of a more manly progeny. However,

ever, I ſhall leave this ſubject for the preſent, and proceed in order in the hiſtory, &c. &c. which you requeſt; hoping that you will be content to receive my remarks by letter, from time to time, as I may find an opportunity of ſending them.

The veſtiges of civilization deſcribed by Carver and others, on this ſide of the Allegany mountains, are intirely imaginary. Every mark that is human has the feature of barbariſm, and every compariſon of the natives and animals, with thoſe of the old world, tends to confirm the opinion of thoſe ſenſible men (ſome of whom wrote more than a century ago) who thought that America was peopled from Scythia, by the ſtreights of Kamtſchatka: which opinion has been followed by your judicious natural hiſtorian Pennant, in his preface to his Artic Zoology. They ſay, firſt, "America has always been better peopled on the ſide towards Aſia, than on that towards Europe: Secondly, The genius of the Americans has a greater conformity to that of the Tartars, who never applied themſelves to arts: Thirdly, The colour of both is pretty much alike; it is certain that the difference is not conſiderable, and is perhaps the effect of the climate, and of thoſe mixtures with which the Americans rub themſelves: Fourthly, The wild beaſts which are ſeen in America, and which cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been tranſported thither by ſea, could only have come by the way of Tartary." An addition to theſe arguments is, that the biſon of Scythia, and what is called the buffalo in America, are preciſely the ſame ſpecies of animal; beſides, the animals of both countries bear the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to each other.

Every thing tends to convince us, that the world is in an infant ſtate. If it is ſubject to change only from the gradual wear which the operations of the elements neceſſarily produce, and which is ſo inſenſible as to require us to contemplate the immenſity of time and ſpace to comprehend a cauſe for the alterations we diſcover, ſtill the various phænomena, which are every where to be found, both on the ſurface and in the bowels of the earth, afford ſufficient proof that there has been a recent alteration upon the face of the globe. Whether or not mankind came originally from the Eaſt ſignifies little. It is, however, certain, that Europe was in its infancy three thouſand years ago; and that America was ſtill leſs advanced to maturity, I believe alſo will be acknowledged; though the barbariſm of the one, and the comparative civilization of the other, is no argument: for, let our hemiſphere have been peopled as it would, it had the diſadvantage of having no poliſhed country in the neighbourhood of its vaſt extent of dominion; and if it received emigrants from Tartary, they were equally ſavage with themſelves; or if from the wreck of a Chineſe, or Japaneſe veſſel, they ſeem to have been too rare (if ever) to have been productive of much good to the Americans. The idea of the Incas of Peru being of Chineſe origin merits no conſideration.

That man poſſeſſes from nature the talents neceſſary to his own civilization, and that perfection of philoſophy and reaſon which dignifies his nature, admits, I ſhould conceive, of no diſpute.

In all countries which wear the marks of age, men ſeem always to have been advancing their improvements for the comfort and order of ſociety. Adventitious circumſtances have rapidly increaſed them in modern times in the old world, while they have retarded them in the new, among the natives. The improvements in navigation led to the overthrow of two empires in America which had attained conſiderable improvements; and if the natives which ſtill remain are barbarous, we muſt, in juſtice to human nature, allow that the contempt with which the Whites have always treated them, and the nefarious policy of encouraging their fury for intoxication, have proved the only cauſe of it. This produced ſuch an effect, that the population of the Indian nations had decreaſed more than a twentieth nearly a century ago, according to the account of Charlevoix.

While Spain was practiſing the moſt odious tyranny, and ſacrilegious inhumanity under the cloak of a deteſtable religion, over millions of the miſerable Americans, gorging an inſatiable avarice in the glittering mines of the new world, England and France, with more humanity, opened ſettlements in North America. Other European powers had ſome part in theſe ſettlements; but, after ſome changes previous to the beginning of the preſent century, England ſeems to have been left in quiet poſſeſſion of the country, lying upon the Atlantic coaſt from Eaſt Florida to the Bay of Fundy. The French, in the mean time, were rearing a colony in the inhoſpitable and frozen foreſts of Canada. The ambition of Lewis XIV. and the dazzling ſcenery which the grandeur of his projects diſplayed, alone could have prompted that people to have perſevered in ſo ruinous an undertaking. But in purſuing the great object of that voracious tyrant, the river St. Lawrence was aſcended, Lake Ontario was traverſed, the falls of Niagara were paſſed, and following the waters which lead to the Miſſiſſippi river, the delectable

table country of Louiſiana opened in all the ſplendour and variety of its charms.

After the treaty of Utrecht, both nations continued quietly the object of aggrandizement. The plan of France was inſidious. In poſſeſſion of the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico in about lat. 29°, and the river St. Lawrence, which empties into the ſea between Cape North and the coaſt of Labrador, to the northward of lat. 48°, ſhe ſeems to have contemplated the conſolidation of this vaſt empire. Miſſionaries were every where employed to convert the natives; and ſo ſucceſsful were they, that a perſon, even in times of hoſtility, ſpeaking French, will find ſecurity from the attachment of the people to every thing which is French.

The miſcarriage of the celebrated ſcheme of Law's for ſettling Louiſiana, for a time retarded the progreſs of that coloſſian plan. But the communication between Canada and Louiſiana being fixed and ſecured by fortreſſes at Niagara and Detroit, and the Indians being univerſally friendly to the French, the features of the Titan was diſcovered in their erecting Fort Du Queſne at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegany rivers, which form the Ohio. This led to the war between England and France in the year 1755, as you may well recollect. But though that war terminated ſo gloriouſly for Great Britain, and ſecure for the then colonies, ſtill we remained ignorant of the whole of the fine country lying between the high hills, which riſe from Great Sandy river, approximate the Allegany mountain, and extending down the Ohio to its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, and back to thoſe ridges of mountains which traverſe America in a S. W. b. W. direction, until they are loſt in the flat lands of Weſt Florida. However, certain men, called Long Hunters, from Virginia and North Carolina, by penetrating theſe mountains (which ramify into a country 200 miles over from eaſt to weſt, called the wilderneſs), were faſcinated with the beauty and luxuriance of the country on the weſtern ſide, which their enraptured imaginations could not find words ſufficient to depict.

A grant had been ſold by the Six Nations of Indians to ſome Britiſh commiſſioners at Fort Stanwix in 1768, which comprehended this country, and which afforded the Americans a pretext for a right to ſettle it; but it was not yet ſufficiently known, and thoſe Indian natives who were not concerned in the grant, became diſſatisfied with the proſpect of a ſettlement which might become ſo dangerous a thorn in their ſide, and committed ſome maſſacres upon the firſt explorers of the country. However, after the expedition of

Lord Dunmore in 1774, and the battle at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the army of colonel Lewis and the confederated tribes of Indians (in which theſe intrepid people ſuffered ſeverely), they were in ſome meaſure quiet. The aſſembly of Virginia began now to encourage the peopling that diſtrict of country called Kentucky, from the name of a river which runs nearly through the middle of it. This encouragement conſiſted in offering 400 acres of land to every perſon, who engaged to build a cabin, clear a piece of land, and produce a crop of Indian corn. This was called a ſettlement right. Some hundreds of theſe ſettlements were made; but, in the mean time, Mr. Richard Henderſon of North Carolina, a man of no inconſiderable abilities, and more enterpriſe, had obtained a grant from the Cherokee tribe of Indians for this ſame tract of country; and though it was contrary to the laws of the land for any private citizen to make purchaſes of the Indians, ſtill Mr. Henderſon perſevered in his intention of eſtabliſhing a colony of his own. To the inhabitants he intended to grant the power of making their own laws, while he retained the executive authority in his own hands. He actually took poſſeſſion of the country, with many of his followers, where he remained pretty quiet, making very little improvement, Virginia being at that time entirely occupied with the war which had commenced between Great Britain and the confederated ſtates. Moſt of the young men from the back ſettlements of Virginia and Pennſylvania, who would have migrated to this country, having engaged in the war, formed that body of men called Rifle-men; which not only checked the growth of the ſettlement, but ſo dried up the ſources of emigration, that it was near being annihilated by the fury of the ſavages, who were hurried on by the emiſſaries of the government of Canada.

Though a conſiderable number of inhabitants had fled from the different ſtates to this country, in ſearch of an aſylum againſt the calamities of the war on the other ſide of the mountains in 1778, 1779, and 1780, yet ſo diſtreſſed was the ſettlement during this laſt year, after a rigorous winter, which had been more than uſually ſevere upon the continent, that the ſettlers judged right, when they determined to abandon the country for ever; but they were diverted from this ſtep by a ſeaſonable reinforcement of emigrants, after having experienced every horror which a ſanguinary war can produce.

The legality of Mr. Henderſon's claim was inveſtigated by the ſtate of Virginia in 1781; and though there could be no ſort of equity in it, he having acted in contempt of the ſtate, the legiſlature, to avoid feuds or diſturbances (for Henderſon ſtill had influence), agreed, as an indemnification for the expence and trouble he had been at, that he ſhould be allowed a tract of country twelve miles ſquare, lying in the forks of the Ohio and Green rivers: a tract of his own chuſing.

Virginia gave farther rewards and encouragements at this time to the firſt ſettlers, for the perils they had undergone in the eſtabliſhment of their ſettlement, of a tract of a 1000 acres, called a pre-emption right, to be laid off adjoining to the ſettlement of 400 acres, the grantee only paying office fees for the ſame. After this period (i. e. 1781), a land office was opened by the ſtate, granting warrants for any quantity of unlocated land, upon condition of certain ſums of depreciated continental currency being paid into the treaſury, at ſo much for an hundred acres. The great plenty and little value of this money ſoon cauſed the whole country to be located, which was one of the material cauſes of its rapid population.

It was neceſſary, in the management of this buſineſs, that care ſhould be taken to prevent that perplexity and litigation, which the vague manner in which that buſineſs was executed in many inſtances, would neceſſarily produce. For this purpoſe, three principal ſurveyors were appointed, who were to lay, or cauſe to be laid off, by their deputies, the different locations within the limits of their diſtricts:

this being done, and recorded in the office, the original ſurvey was ſent to the deputy regiſter's office, there to be recorded; from which it was ſent to the principal regiſter's office at Richmond, the ſeat of government, there to remain twelve months, in order that any perſon having a claim, by virtue of a prior location, might have an opportunity to enter a caveat, and prevent a ſurreptitious grant from iſſuing. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent to adjuſt the claims of ſettlement and preemption rights; by which means order was preſerved, and the government of a diſtrict of country, detached, and ſeparated at that time more than 200 miles from any other ſettled country—a country which had grown up under the devaſtation of a moſt barbarous Indian and civil war, and under the miſeries of famine and diſtreſs, ſettled by all orders of men in the United States, men of different intereſts, and different politics, was preſerved; and the order and quiet, which prevailed in 1784, was ſufficient to have induced a ſtranger to have believed that he was living under an old ſettled government. Such is the ſcience of juriſprudence, when it works upon ſimple, but ſubſtantial ſprings. Hence ariſes harmony without expence, and equity without litigation. Here are no muſty forms, to lead you into labyrinths of doubt and perplexity, no contradictory caſes and reports to diſtract your opinions :—our deciſions are governed by acts of the legiſlature, decreed upon the elementary principles of truth and juſtice.

After the peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, the ſettlement of Kentucky was conſidered as formed; but it was not yet determined, whether it was to be an appendage of Virginia or not. The United States claimed the back country as the property of the whole union, which ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of the federal government; but Virginia urged the right of the charter granted by James I. which deſcribed its boundaries in this ſtrange way.—To commence at a point ſouthward of the capes of Cheſapeak Bay, in lat. 36½, running due weſt from thence, then ſetting off from the ſaid beginning, and running to lat. 37° 57′ upon the coaſt, which is a little to the northward of the ſaid capes, and then running a north-weſt courſe. This indefinite grant, having no actual boundaries ſeems to have originated; in the belief of the times of its birth, *i. e.* that the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were only divided by a narrow tract of country. This grant forming a kind of obtuſe angle, expanding as it advanced weſtward, comprehended the whole of the fine country on both ſides of the Ohio. But, in order to adjuſt all diſputes, the ſtate of Virginia offered to concede the country weſtward of the Ohio,

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provided that other individual ſtates, holding back lands, would give up theirs, and the whole of the country comprehended within the preſent limits of the ſtate, on the eaſtern ſide of the river Ohio, ſhould be guaranteed to them by Congreſs. This was done; and thus the federal government became poſſeſſed of all the back-lands in America.

Thus ſtood matters reſpecting Kentucky the latter end of 1783. As it is neceſſary for me to take a retroſpective glance of the progreſs of peopling ſeveral other parts of the weſtern country I muſt beg your indulgence and time for another letter. In the mean time, believe me to be devoted to your wiſhes.

I am, moſt ſincerely,

Your's, &c.

LETTER II.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE memorable defeat of General Braddock retarded for ſome little time, our opportunities of acquiring a further knowledge of the country on the ſources of the Ohio. But the taking Fort du Queſne by General Forbes, in 1758, opened to the view of the colonies of that day a new world. Lands were granted by government to the army, for ſervices done during the war, which, in a great meaſure, with the garriſoning Fort du Queſne (now called Fort Pitt), contributed to form the firſt Engliſh ſettlement upon the weſtern waters.

After the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Great Britain obtained a ceſſion of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and all the country lying eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, with a right to navigate that river, frequent incurſions had been made from that time down to the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi to New Orleans. But in theſe excurſions, which were by water, very little knowledge of the Kentucky country had been obtained, except at the Rapids and ſome few other places upon the banks of the river.

Louiſiana was well known, and many ſettlements were forming, previous to the late war, on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, above and below the Natchez: ſome troops had been ſtationed in the Illinois, and at Poſt St. Vincent on the Wabaſh river, where the French inhabitants lived and cultivated their little plantations, in the ſtyle of the Patriarchs of old; enjoying the charms of nature, decked in all the ſoft ſimplicity which the genial current of the human ſoul, unſophiſticated by the alloy of European artifice, produces in ſuch elegant and faſcinating variety. They poſſeſſed all the ſocial talents in an eminent degree; and their hoſpitality was ever enlivened with the charms of wit, and the exhilerating juice of the vine; which grew and flouriſhed to ſuch a degree as to produce wine for exportation. Theſe ſettlements ſtill exiſt; but the ſettlements upon the Miſſiſſippi that were made previous to the war, were broken up by Indians, who inhabit the country between Georgia and Weſt Florida, called the Cherokee, Creeks, Chacktaw, and Chichaſaw nations. Beſides, by the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, we acquired the country on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi river, only as low as the commencement of the 32 deg. or to the Natchez; ſo that thoſe ſettlements could not be renewed by the Americans, as both Eaſt and Weſt Florida fell into the hands of Spain by the ſame peace.

The ſouthern limits of Virginia, being lat. 36 deg. are divided from North Carolina by a line of demarkation in a direct weſt line, until it ſtrikes the Miſſiſſippi a little below its junction with the Ohio. The ſame ridge of mountains which ſeparates Virginia from the weſtern country, ſeparates the Carolinas alſo; and on this ſide of the mountain, within the limits of North-Carolina, the luxuriance of the ſoil, in ſome parts, is equally aſtoniſhing as that of Kentucky. When Lord Cornwallis penetrated into the back parts of that ſtate, many of its inhabitants began to fly over the mountains for ſecurity; and thus commenced the ſettlement called Cumberland from the name of its river, which is a conſiderable branch of the Ohio, and joins it not a great way from its mouth. This ſettlement began to form in 1780, and was encouraged by the ſame means as the ſettlement of Kentucky, *i. e.* by ſettlements and pre-emption rights; and now promiſes to become ſecond in magnitude to Kentucky, of all the ſettlements upon the weſtern waters, and in a few years, from its rapid growth, doubtleſs will become a diſtinct ſtate. Such is the rapidity with which this part of the world is peopling.

There are ſettlements ſtill to the ſouthward of this, in what is called the Great Bend of the Teneſee, or the Muſcle Shoals, which have been made without the permiſſion of the federal Government. This is a fine tract of country, and in time muſt become very valuable from its particular ſituation, and the peculiar manner in which the navigation of this country muſt be conducted, concerning which I ſhall expatiate in its proper place. Its proximity to the ſouthern Indians renders it rather dangerous at preſent; but the growing ſtrength of Frenchbroad and Nolachuſky above, upon the waters of the ſame rivers will ſoon afford ſecurity to every part of the Teneſee country.

The country of Holſton is ſtill above theſe ſettlements upon the head waters of the ſame river, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina; and that you may form ſome idea of the proweſs of thoſe people, I will relate a circumſtance, which, perhaps, is not generally known on your ſide of the water. When Lord Cornwallis had advanced, in 1780, into the back parts of North Carolina, he detached Col. Ferguſon with about 500 Britiſh troops, to a place called King's Mountain, in order to give ſecurity to the *faithful* and *loyal* ſubjects of his Majeſty, who were conſiderably oppreſſed by their *unfaithful* countrymen the *rebels*. Col. Campbell, a Virginian, who lived in thoſe back ſettlements, hearing of the rendezvous of the loyaliſts, under the banner of Col. Ferguſon's detachment, at King's Mountain, aſſembled what militia he could, and began his march on horſeback in the evening, without mentioning their deſtination, and by continuing their march, without interceſſion for upwards of one hundred miles, came up with them the ſecond morning, about the break of day, when their horſes were left at the foot of the mountain with a ſmall guard; his little army, divided into three detachments, were led to ſeparate attacks, and in leſs than half an hour the hill was carried, Col. Ferguſon killed, and the greater part of his detachment made priſoners. Col. Campbell's army amounted to about 500: he took more priſoners. From ſuch ſpecimens, I think thoſe people can have nothing to fear from M'Gilvery.

I have not related this ſtory from vanity, or from the moſt diſtant idea that the Americans are in any reſpect ſuperior to Engliſhmen; ſo far from it, that no man can more warmly admire the true Engliſh than I do: but I have told it as a circumſtance tending to prove, that men feeling the ſpirit of liberty are always ſuperior to ſlaves; and that a well regulated militia are equal to the defence of a country without the expence of ſupporting a ſtanding army, which is not the only inconvenience flowing from ſuch a ſyſtem. How much of the labour and ingenuity of a ſtate is ſacrificed by ſuch a policy! In how many inſtances have the laws and civil authority been trampled upon by the contumely and ignorance of men educated with none but military ideas and habits, and thereby the reſpect due to laws contaminated; and an indignant people awed by a martial phalanx! While a good citizen feels his own inſignificance, the patriotic heart mourns for the ſacrilege committed upon their privileges with that impunity, which the patronage of a ſtanding army affords to the executive power of a ſtate.

We will now return to Kentucky which is the key-ſtone of the ſettlements upon the waters of the Miſſiſippi. The years 1783 and 1784 brought out vaſt numbers of emigrants from all parts of America; particularly the latter year, when it was ſuppoſed that in Kentucky alone, not leſs than 12,000 ſouls became ſettlers: ſeveral Europeans from France, England and Ireland were among the number. The Indians gave us a reſpite, and there ſeemed to be nothing wanting to make us the happieſt people upon earth.

In 1782 the State of Virginia had given us a General Court, with Judges and an Attorney-General, to manage all legal affairs reſpecting the diſtrict without the trouble and expence of travelling to Richmond, which is diſtant between five and ſix hundred miles, two hundred of which were through an uninhabited wilderneſs. In 1783, 1784, and 1785, great part of the country was ſurveyed and patented, and the people in the interior ſettlements purſued their buſineſs in as much quiet and ſafety as they would have done in any part of Europe. Court-houſes were built in the different counties, and roads were opened for carriages, which ſeven years before had not been ſeen in the country. The only roads hitherto were for ſingle horſes.

In 1785 the diſtrict had grown ſo conſiderable from the great number of emigrants which had arrived, and that reſpectability which it had acquired produced a diſpoſition in the inhabitants to become an independent State, and to be admitted as another link in the great federal chain. A convention was immediately formed by ſending deputies from the different counties, who met at our metropolis, Danville, for the purpoſe of taking the matter into conſideration; when it was determined, after ſome debating, to petition Virginia for that purpoſe. An Act had already paſſed that State, authoriſing any diſtrict of country over the mountains to ſeparate whenever a majority of the inhabitants ſhould wiſh it; but in this inſtance it was urged, by thoſe who were not friendly to the ſeparation, that it was not the wiſh of the majority of the inhabitants of Kentucky to become independent. In fact, many Gentlemen holding conſiderable tracts of land in the diſtrict, who were not reſidents, thought our ſeparation would be premature, particularly as we had courts of juſtice, whoſe juriſdiction was diſtinct from that of Virginia; and the only ſolid complaint (which, indeed, was a ſerious one) was the diſtance to which we muſt ſend our repreſentatives, and our local ſituation requiring in ſome inſtances a legiſlation, which the majority of the Aſſembly of the State would not be competent to judge of. However, this buſineſs was procraſtinated; for finding, though we might ſeparate whenever we choſe, yet that it was optional with the legiſlature of Virginia to recommend us to be taken into the federal government (which they were not likely to do, and which it was certain could not be done without,) we were content to remain as we were for that time.

The federal government in the courſe of this year undertook to lay off the country weſt of the Ohio, in ſuch manner as would anſwer the purpoſes of ſelling the land, and ſettling the country. Peace had been made the preceding year at Fort M'Intoſh, between the United States and the Indians, in which the country upon the Muſkingum, Scioto, and the Great and Little Miami rivers, had been given up by the Indians as a conſideration for former maſſacres, and as neceſſary to produce permanent tranquillity; they finding the United

States, by ceſſion from Great Britain, had a right to all the country within the limits deſcribed in the treaty of 1783, and that it would be in vain for them to remonſtrate againſt their peopling it, particularly as it was to Great Britain they were to look to for reſtitution, who had abandoned them when allies, and ſold their country without even conſulting them. But when the ſurveyors began to act, the Indians diſcovered immediate and hoſtile ſigns of diſapprobation, ſome maſſacres were committed, and the buſineſs was put off until the following Spring.

Congreſs as yet had taken no decided meaſures as to the organization of this country, or the mode of parcelling it out and diſpoſing of it; the diſcontinuance of the late war was ſtill recent, and the multifarious objects which preſented themſelves to an infant Government, not recovered from the ſhocks of a doubtful credit, together with the habitual idleneſs which the profeſſion of arms produces, threw an embarraſſment over all their proceedings. It was in this dilemma that they recommended the meeting of a convention, to be compoſed of deputies from the different States, to aſſemble in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to take into their conſideration the nature and defects of the federal government as it then exiſted. In this examination they found that the old government wanted efficiency, and the total abſence of uniſon between the different States, from local laws and cuſtoms, was productive of delay, and a variety of obſtructions, tending to counteract the concord of confederation.

It was under theſe conſiderations that the preſent federal government aroſe. It has eſtabliſhed one great and important principle for the benefit of mankind, and the extenſion of civilization, which is, that a power may ſo exiſt in a government, as to admit of alteration or change, without danger to the tranquillity of the State; by government recommending to the conſtituent powers of that State, the deputing men to inquire into the radical defects of their conſtitution, and making ſuch alterations as the improved wiſdom of experience may find neceſſary. It is thus in the progreſſion of things that governments will arrive at perfection.

I muſt beg that you will excuſe this digreſſion, as it was neceſſary to account for the delay in proceeding to the ſettlement of the country weſt of the Ohio. This buſineſs took up the greater part of 1787, ſo that it was a year or more before much was done. In the mean time the Indians continued to increaſe their depredations, under a belief that, if once the Whites were ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves on their ſide of the Ohio, there would be no end to their incroachments until they became extirpated. In this opinion, they were not a little encouraged by the Engliſh traders at Detroit and Niagara, who, from an avarice in human nature hard to be accounted for (but as it degenerates under bad laws and worſe morals), ſeek, in murder and bloodſhed, for the ſale of a few extra pounds of gun-powder and lead. However ſome land had been ſurveyed in 1786 and 1787, and in the latter year a ſettlement was formed upon the Muſkingum, which may be looked upon as the commencement of the American ſettlements upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio. In 1788 and 1789 ſome farther ſurveying was done; but little ſince has been tranſacted in thoſe parts, except wars between the Indians and the ſettlers. Yet it is to be hoped that the decided meaſures taken by the United States will ſecure peace, which cannot fail to promote proſperity.

Nature in her pride has given to the regions of this fair river a fertility ſo aſtoniſhing, that to believe it, occular demonſtration becomes neceſſary. During theſe times of barbarous war and maſſacre, the people of Kentucky and Cumberland, ſecured by their numbers and ſtrength, except in their utermoſt plantations, enjoyed perfect ſecurity. The former continued to keep in view the object of her independence, and from the reſpectable figure ſhe has made in the adminiſtration of her affairs,

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it is at length agreed, that ſhe is to be admitted into the federal union in June 1792.

Having furniſhed you with only an imperfect hiſtory of the manner in which this back country has been ſettled, I will endeavour, in compliance with your requeſt, to give you a deſcription of its natural and artificial productions. Believe me to be, ſincerely,

Your's, &c.

LETTER III.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN caſting your eyes over the map of America, you will diſcover that its weſtern (or middle) country is divided from the Atlantic country by a chain of mountains which riſe in the remote parts of the States of New-York, and New-Jerſey, and run a ſouth-weſterly courſe, until they are loſt (as I obſerved before) in the flat lands of Weſt Florida. The weſtern country is thoſe parts which are watered by the ſtreams running into the Miſſiſſippi.

It is about fifty miles over the Allegany Mountain, croſſing by the rout which General Braddock took from Fort Cumberland near the Potowmac, at the deſcent into the country of Redſtone on the Monongehala, the ſouthern branch of the Ohio. This river riſes in the ſame mountain conſiderably to the ſouthward, runs nearly parallel with it, the oppoſite way, upwards of one hundred miles, and is navigable for boats nearly to its ſource; the whole of this country beyond the mountain is extremely fertile, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of timber calculated for building houſes, boats, cabinet work, &c. &c. The ſugar maple-tree is intermixed in great quantities. From the foot of the mountain it is about fourteen miles to Redſtone Old Fort, which is on the banks of the Monongahala, and the uſual place of embarkation of people coming down the Ohio, who travel Braddock's road; from thence to Pittſburg is about fifty miles by water. Large tracts of flat land lay all along upon the banks of this river from the Old Fort to Pittſburg, which are capable of being made into extenſive and luxuriant meadow ground.

This country is populous, it being the oldeſt ſettlement, and made immediately after taking Fort du Queſne. The Yohogania empties itſelf into the Monongahala about twenty-five miles above its junction with the Allegany river: the country on this river is more uneven, but in the vallies the ſoil is extremely rich. Near to Pittſburg the country is well peopled, and there, as well as in Redſtone, all the comforts of life are in the greateſt abundance. Flour is manufactured in as good a ſtyle as in any part of America; and butter, cheeſe, bacon, and every kind of proviſions can be had in the greateſt quantity. This whole country abounds in coal, which lies almoſt upon the ſurface of the ground; the hills oppoſite Pittſburg upon the banks of the Monongahala, which are at leaſt three hundred feet high, appear to be one ſolid body of this mineral.

This muſt become in time the moſt valuable grazing country in all America from the fertility of its ſoil, its capability of being formed into extenſive meadows, and its proximity to the mountains which attract the clouds, and produce that moiſture ſo neceſſary to graſs;—beſides which, its ſituation is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia, about two hundred and forty from Baltimore, and about two hundred and twenty from the federal city on the Potowmac, a diſtance which is too great to carry by land the bulky articles of huſbandry; but to which cattle may be driven with the greateſt eaſe.

This country has derived no inconſiderable advantage from the ſettlement of Kentucky, and the other ſettlements which are making on the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, the great road of migrating from the northern ſtates lying through it: and indeed it is moſt convenient, both from Maryland and Virginia, at all ſeaſons of the year, provided that there be any thing bulky to carry, the paſſage being for the greateſt part, by water, and the Potowmac navigable, a few places excepted, to fort Cumberland: all of which obſtructions will be removed in a few years by canals which are cutting. From Fort Cumberland it is about ſixty miles land carriage to Redſtone Old Fort; but ſo friendly has nature been to this country, that though it is without ſeas, yet the rivers run in ſuch directions, that there is ſcarce any place in all the back parts of America, where art may not reduce the land carriage to a very ſmall diſtance. I cannot ſpeak upon ſo general a ſubject definitively, but I mean to be underſtood within fifteen leagues. It is aſſerted from the beſt authorities, that the land carriage between the Potowmac and Ohio may be reduced to leſs than twenty miles.

Such is the progreſſion of things in this country, that while there was apparently no market for its ſuperfluous productions, every article has ſold extremely well, in conſequence of the number of emigrants who have been continually paſſing down the Ohio.

Down from Pittſburg the country is flat on the banks of the river; but a little diſtance from them it is conſiderably broken, particularly on the north-weſtern ſide. Much good land, however, is interſperſed on the ſouth ſide as far as the approach to the little Kanhaway, where the nature of the ſoil ſeems reverſed, and the good land is then found on the weſtern ſide upon the Muſkingum. There are ſome ſtrips of rich land upon the little Kanhaway; but, farther up the river, the country is broken and ſteril, producing ſcarce any o-

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other timber than the fir-trees, or pine and knotty black oaks, which are generally deemed ſymptoms of a bad ſoil. This tract of bad land extends quite into the mountains in a ſouth direction, and runs ſouth-weſterly as far as Great Sandy river, with little or no variation, except on the bottoms of the Great Kanhaway, which are extenſive and rich. The bottoms on the Ohio are every where extenſive and luxuriant. On the weſtern ſide of the river, the country beyond the rich vein of land on the Muſkingum, is only tolerable on this ſide of the head waters of the Sciota, which are ſucceeded by as fine a body of land as the imagination can paint. This extends conſiderably near to the Ohio, and running weſtward quite to the Miami, now approximates its banks, and diſplays, in its verdure and variety of majeſtic foreſts, all that beauty and richneſs, which have been ſo much celebrated by travellers who have paſſed through them. The country on the eaſtern ſide, except on the banks of the rivers, is indifferent. There is a body of good land on Great Sandy; but leaving that in a ſouth-weſterly courſe, high, rugged, and broken hills ariſe, which will hardly ever be capable of cultivation: theſe hills extended between thirty and forty miles and open into the fine lands of Kentucky.

We have travelled now about five hundred miles down the Ohio in its meandering courſe, and we will ſuppoſe ourſelves at Limeſtone, where the champaigne country on the eaſtern ſide of the river begins. This is the uſual landing place for people coming down in boats, who mean to ſettle in the upper part of the State, as I ſhall in future call it. It is now neceſſary to look back to that country, which we have travelled through with ſuch rapidity. Pittſburg lies in about lat. 40° 40', the general courſe of the Ohio is about W. S. W. and the diſtance by land from Pittſburg to Limeſtone is nearly three hundred miles. But as the northern limits of the ſtate, are Great Sandy, which is ſome diſtance above Limeſtone, we may fix them as nearly as can be, in lat. 39° 30'. I am ſorry I cannot ſpeak with more preciſion, but theſe things have not yet been aſcertained from obſervation.

The eaſt ſide of the Ohio for about ten or twenty miles below Wheeling, which is about one hundred below Pittſburg, is generally well ſettled. There are few ſettlements on the oppoſite ſhore until you come to the Muſkingum, and the country now wears the face of a wilderneſs on both ſides of the river, there being no habitations worth notice, except at the mouth of the Great Kanhawey, until we arrive at Limeſtone.

Every thing here aſſumes a dignity and ſplendour I have never ſeen in any other part of the world. You aſcend a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore of the Ohio, and when you would ſuppoſe you had arrived at the ſummit of a mountain, you find yourſelf upon an extenſive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant ſun of lat. 39°, piercing through the azure heavens, produces, in this prolific ſoil, an early maturity which is truly aſtoniſhing. Flowers full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a floriſt, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms which colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the ſmiling groves. Soft zephers gently breathe on ſweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigour, that ſeems to raviſh the intoxicated ſenſes. The ſweet ſongſters of the foreſts appear to feel the influence of this genial clime, and, in more ſoft and modulated tones, warble their tender notes in uniſon with love and nature. Every thing here gives delight; and, in that mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for the elevation which our all-bountiful Creator has beſtowed upon us. Far from being diſguſted with man for his turpitude or depravity, we feel that dignity which nature beſtowed upon us at the creation; but which has been contaminated by the baſe alloy of meanneſs, the concomitant of *Europe*an education, and what is more lamentable is, that it is the conſequence of your very laws and governments.

You muſt forgive what I know you will call a rhapſody, but what I really experienced after travelling acroſs the Allegany mountain in March, when it was covered with ſnow, and after finding the country about Pittſburg bare, and not recovered from the ravages of winter: there was ſcarcely a blade of graſs to be ſeen, every thing looked dreary, and bore thoſe marks of melancholy which the rude hand of froſt produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in leſs than five days landed at Limeſtone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

It naturally ſtruck me that there was ſomething in climate that debaſed or elevated the human ſoul: That chill penury which a ſteril country and damp cold climate produces, in accumulating the wants of men, had increaſed their dependance, which at once ſaps the firſt principles of man. I conceived that in the infancy of the world men in temperate climates had retained their freedom longeſt. Thus in England you have enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of liberty, while almoſt all Europe have ſuffered under the fetters of an odious deſpotiſm. The perfection of arts will meliorate the condition of man in every part of the world; but the amelioration of government and education muſt take place, before he will be able to reſume his priſtine dignity.

From Limeſtone to Licking creek the country is immenſely rich, and covered with cane, rye graſs, and the native clover. The cane is a reed which grows to the height frequently of fifteen or ſixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and is in thickneſs from the ſize of a gooſe quill, to that of two inches diameter; ſometimes, yet ſeldom, it is larger. When it is ſlender, it never grows higher than from four to ſeven feet; it ſhoots up in one ſummer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an ever-green, and is, perhaps, the moſt nouriſhing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has ſuch flavour and richneſs as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horſes which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of ſalt, otherwiſe this food is liable to heat, and bind their bowels. The rye-graſs, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three and a half, and the head and beard reſembles the real rye, and ſometimes produces a ſmall grain long and ſlender not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the ſame perfection, I can form no idea; it is however certain, that it is a very good and valuable graſs. The clover is in no reſpect different from the clover in Europe, but as it is more coarſe and luxuriant. There is a variety of other kinds of graſs, which are found in different places; but I have only mentioned the two former, they being eſteemed the moſt valuable.

In order to travel into the interior parts of the State the rout lies acroſs the branches of Licking creek. There are ſeveral of them which take their riſe in the high hills of Great Sandy rivers, and the ſpurs of the Allegany mountain; they traverſe a moſt delightful country, and form a junction a ſmall diſtance below the Lower Blue Lick. A ſalt ſpring is called a Lick, from the earth about them being furrowed out, in a moſt curious manner, by the buffaloe and deer, which lick the earth on account of the ſaline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the Fork to the Ohio is conſiderably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of Kentucky, which is about one hundred and ten miles below the mouth of Licking creek by water, and ſeventy above the Rapids of the Ohio. Between the mouths of Licking and Kentucky lies the Great Bone Lick, which is juſtly celebrated for the remarkable bones which are found there, and which gave name to the place. Several of thoſe bones have been ſent to Europe; but I believe no natural hiſtorian has been able to give any decided opinion, to what claſs of animals they belonged. Buffon has called them the Mammouth; but I am at a loſs to know from what authority, as we have no tradition either oral or written, that gives an account of any ſpecies of animals which were as large as thoſe muſt have been, judging by the magnitude of the bones. Buffon ſays, that ſimilar bones have been found both in Ireland (if I am not miſtaken) and in ſome part of Aſia. It appears ſomewhat extraordinary, at the firſt view, that we ſhould diſcover manifeſt proofs of there having exiſted animals of which we can form no adequate idea, and which in ſize muſt have far exceeded any thing now known upon earth; and thoſe ſigns too, in climates where the elephant (the largeſt animal now in exiſtence) is never found. Every phænomenon upon the earth tends to confirm the idea, that it ever has been ſubject to revolutions, beſides its diurnal and annual motion from eaſt to weſt.

After paſſing the Blue Lick, the ſoil, if poſſible, increaſes in richneſs. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington lies about mid-way, and is nearly central of the fineſt and moſt luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leeſburg is about twenty miles; to Boonſbury it is about twenty; the Upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This ſquare which is nearly fifty miles, comprehends entirely what is called firſt rate land. Leeſburg lies on the Kentucky, about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken, but rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of land. The Kentucky is bound every where by high rocky precipices, which are generally two hundred feet and upwards perpendicular, and which makes its paſſes difficult. Few places on it have any bottom land, as the rock riſes moſtly contiguous to the bed of the river; which confinement, after heavy rains, renders it very formidable from the impetuoſity of its current. On aſcending the banks of this river, the land on either ſide is equally good for a conſiderable diſtance above Boonſburg; but adjacent to the mountains from whence the river riſes, the country becomes broken, ſteril, and of little or no value. Boonſburg lies on the Kentucky, about ſixty miles above its mouth by land, and about one hundred and thirty by water. From Leeſburg down the river on the ſouth ſide, for about ten or twelve miles, the hills are conſiderably high and ſteep; but when you paſs the waters of Drinnon's Lick creek, you fall into a body of good champaign land, which extends with little variation to the Rapids of the Ohio. From Leeſburg to Danville, the country for the firſt twenty miles, is of an inferior rate of land for this country; but farther on, you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the ſquare of fifty miles.

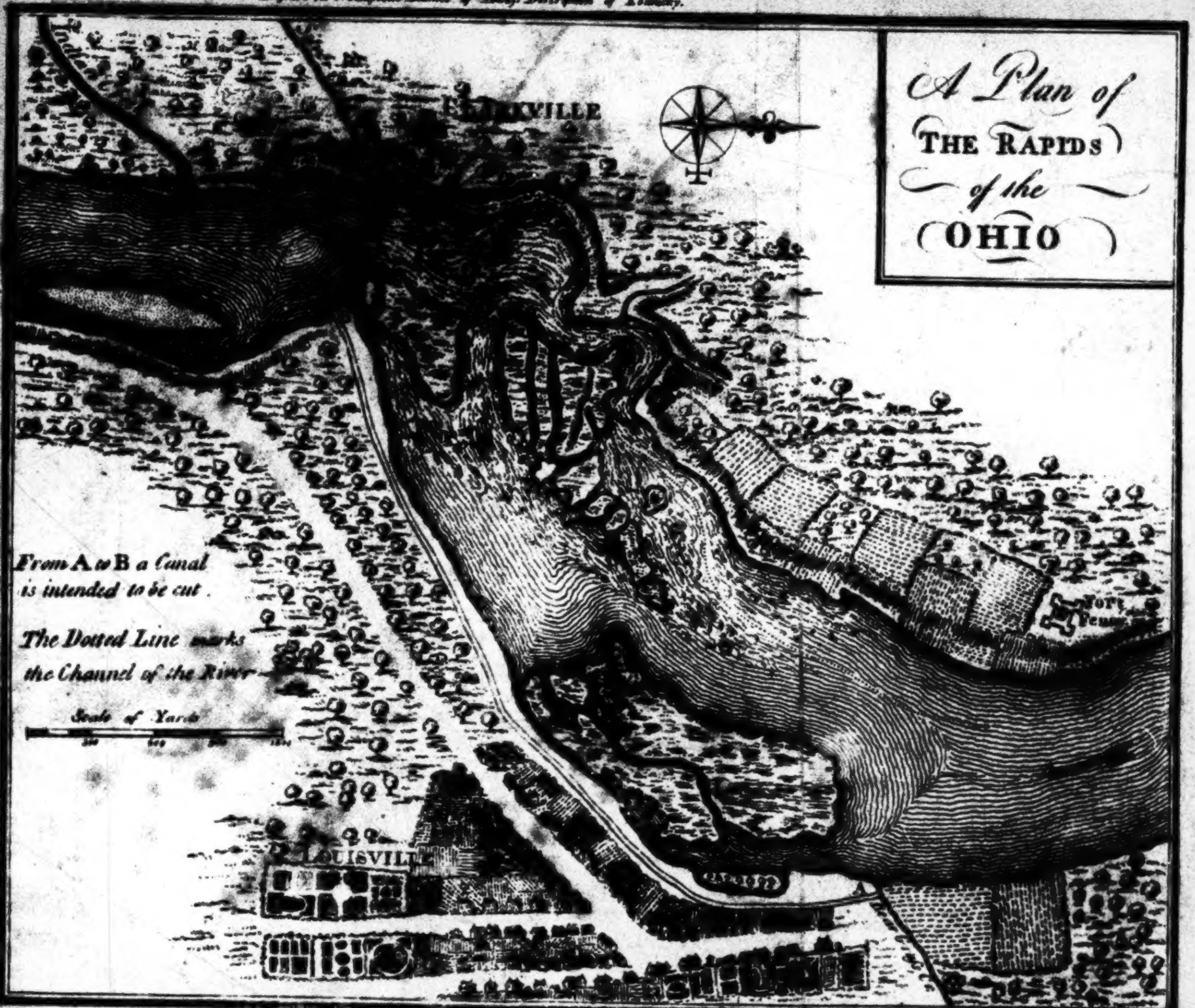
Large bodies of good land lie on every ſide of Danville for twenty miles and upwards; but in the courſe from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt river (which takes its name from a ſalt ſpring, called Bullit's Lick, that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river) the country is, in ſome places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids the country becomes more level, better watered, and the ſoil more fertile. The country of Beargraſs is beautiful and rich; as indeed, is the land on Gooſe and Harrod's creeks. In the fork of the Ohio, and Salt river, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the country is flat, and interſperſed with ſmall lakes or ponds, occaſioned by the extreme lowneſs of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills theſe ponds periodically, or as often as thoſe inundations happen, which are frequent from December until April.

The Rapids of the Ohio, lie about ſeven hundred miles below Pittſburg, and about four hundred above its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi. They are occaſioned by a ledge of rocks which ſtretch acroſs the bed of the river from one ſide to the other, in ſome places projecting ſo much, that they are viſible when the water is not high, and in moſt places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more than between four and five feet in the diſtance of a mile; ſo that boats of any burthen may paſs with ſafety when there is a flood; but boats coming up the river muſt unload; which inconvenience may very eaſily be removed by cutting a canal from the mouth of Beargraſs, the upper ſide of the Rapids, to below the lower reef of rocks, which is not quite two miles, and the country a gentle declivity the whole way.

The ſituation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide, and the fall of water, which is an eternal caſcade, appears as if nature had deſigned it to ſhew how inimitable and ſtupendous are her works. Its breadth contributes to its ſublimity; and the continually tumbling noiſe tends to exhilerate the ſpirits, and gives a cheerfulneſs even to ſluggards. The view up the river is terminated, at the diſtance of four leagues, by an iſland in its centre, which is contraſted by the plain on the oppoſite ſhore, that extends a long way into the country; but the eye receding, finds new beauties, and ample ſubjects for admiration, in the riſing hills of Silver creek, which, ſtretching obliquely to the north-weſt, proudly

riſe

Engrav'd for S. Campbell's Edition of Imlay's Description of Kentucky.



A Plan of THE RAPIDS of the OHIO

CLARKSVILLE
LOUISVILLE
Fort
Fenny
From A to B a Canal is intended to be cut.
The Dotted Line marks the Channel of the River
Scale of Yards
300
600
900
1200

riſe higher and higher as they extend, until their ſummits are loſt in air. Clarkville on the oppoſite ſhore completes the proſpect, and from its neighbourhood, and from the ſettlement forming upon the Officers land, a few years muſt afford us a cultivated country, to blend appropriate beauty with the charms of the imagination. There lies a ſmall iſland in the river about two hundred yards from the eaſtern ſhore; between which and the main is a quarry of excellent ſtone for building, and which in great part is dry the latter part of ſummer. The banks of the river are never overflowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river. There is no doubt but it will ſoon become a flouriſhing town: there are already upwards of two hundred good houſes built. This town is called Louiſville.

I omitted to mention, that when the State of Virginia conceded the country weſt of the Ohio to the United States, ſhe reſerved a tract of country lying oppoſite to the Rapids for thoſe officers and ſoldiers which were called State troops, and who had been immediately employed in the weſtern country.

Having left the country on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio at the Miami, I ſhall continue my deſcription of the country on this ſide, as far as my knowledge extends, and will then proceed upwards

In leaving the Rapids in a ſouth-weſterly direction the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have deſcribed in the fork of the Ohio and Salt rivers. After paſſing the main branch of the Salt river near Bullit's Lick, ten miles diſtant, in the fork of the north and ſouth branches, the country becomes broken and hilly; but between which and the Cumberland road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a conſiderable extent of fine land; but travelling a few leagues farther ſouthward, you arrive at extenſive plains, which extend upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in a ſouth-weſt courſe, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obſtructions to a boundleſs horizon. It is pleaſure to behold the deer bounding over the ſcraggy ſhrubs which cover the earth. While the ſetting ſun gilds thoſe extenſive plains, the mild breezes of a ſummer's eve, playing upon the enraptured ſenſes, ſoftens the heart to love and friendſhip. Unperceived, upon ſome eminence, you may enjoy the ſports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field. Heavens! what charms are there in liberty! Man, born to enſlave the ſubordinate animals, has long ſince enſlaved himſelf. But reaſon at length in radiant ſmiles, and with graceful pride, illumines both hemiſpheres;

and the bright Goddeſs in golden plumes, and in her triumphal car, and ſhall ſoon reſume her long-loſt empire.

We now have arrived upon the waters of Green river: at the mouth of which, and between that and the Ohio, lies Henderſon's grant of twelve miles ſquare, as I mentioned. The plains extend beyond the head waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina; but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther creek. From the mouth of Green River up the Ohio to Salt river, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich; but leaving its banks you ſoon fall into the plain country, which is conſidered as little better than barren land. However, it is moſt likely that they will prove excellent for ſheep to feed upon, the climate being nearly the ſame as that of Spain, where the fineſt wool in Europe is produced. And though the land is not reckoned valuable in this country, on account of its comparative ſterility, yet it is of a ſuperior quality to great parts of the ſoil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well known, never grows kindly in a poor ſoil.

The native ſtrawberry is found in theſe plains in the greateſt abundance, as are likewiſe plumbs of different ſorts; and, if we can form any idea of the native grape that grows ſpontaneouſly here, what the ſame ſoil is capable of producing when they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or ſoil in the world is more congenial to the vine; for I have never taſted more delicious grapes, and it is the opinion of ſome judicious foreigners, who have viſited theſe Arcadian regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe, might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleaſant wine made here by the ſettlers, who know nothing of the uſe of vats, or the degree of fermentation neceſſary to the perfection of the art of wine-making. But, I flatter myſelf ſome progreſs will be made in this buſineſs, as ſeveral foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.

The country between Green and Cumberland rivers is in general rich, and finely watered. There is in it a moſt valuable lead mine, and ſeveral ſalt ſprings, and two of a bitumen, which, when annalyzed, is found to be amber. But, ſo much do we ſtand in need of chymiſts, and mineraliſts, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many foſſils which have been diſcovered; and many continue unknown, I apprehend, from the want of curioſity of men whoſe only object ſeems to be cultivation and the ſcience of government. Perhaps theſe are the moſt eſſential to the happineſs of m[illegible] in the wild ſtate which this country is in. Arts appear to follow population. Neceſſity has been the mother of invention, it is true; but from the attainment of that perfection to which we have arrived in arts and philoſophy, wiſdom and ſcience muſt go forward. It is phyſically impoſſible for man to degenerate to barbariſm.

When the greateſt merit conſiſts in the exerciſe of the moſt uſeful and appropriate talents, I think that it is likely that the ingenuity of men will feel a more lively ſtimulus to the exerciſe of invention from the love of fame, the love of mankind, and regard to their own dignity, than it ever yet experienced from neceſſity. While odious diſtinctions exiſt, and men are rewarded in proportion to their ſervility, human nature muſt be robbed of half its inſtincts, and conſequently men will be ſlothful. How many drones do we obſerve in every part of Europe, who feed upon the induſtry of the neceſſitous, who work only as it is neceſſary to their exiſtence! Such have been the effects of the factitious duties of man in your hemiſphere, that every thing has become perverted; and governments, inſtead of ſecuring happineſs to men, have only tended to aggrandize individuals; and thus has flowed in that debaſement of character which has marked half the inhabitants of Europe with little more dignity than brute creatures.

Cumberland river riſes among the mountains, conſiderably to the north-eaſt, and, after its ſeveral branches have joined it, runs a long way ſouth, and enters the limits of North Carolina. After a courſe of half a degree within thoſe limits, it turns to the north-weſt, and empties itſelf into the Ohio, at ſome diſtance above its junction with the Miſſiſſippi. The Teneſee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland.—— The Teneſee is the moſt important of the ſouthern branches of the Ohio. Its northern fork, called Holſton, riſes in the country of the ſame name (which I have before mentioned), and after paſſing through Nolachucky, is joined by the main or ſouth branch. This branch riſes in the remote parts of the ſtate of Georgia, and, after traverſing the borders of the Cherokee country, is joined by the Holſton branch when it is called the Teneſee; from thence it runs ſouth-weſterly, quite thro' the limits of North Carolina, and approaches the head waters of the Mobile, which empties itſelf into the gulph of Mexico. In its courſe, which is very rapid thus far, from the material declivity of the high country, which from mountains gradually ſink into a flat, there is a number of falls, but none of them conſiderable. It now turns again to the northward, and from its lazy motion it is obvious that there is very little fall of water from this to the Ohio.

ſhio. This turn conſtitutes what is called the Great Bend of the Teneſee, or Muſcle Shoal, from the number of ſhoals in this part of the river, which are covered with theſe ſhell-fiſh. The river is here from two to three and a half miles wide. Its importance will conſiſt in its being the moſt convenient inlet from the upper parts of Virginia and the Carolinas to the Miſſiſſippi, it being navigable for boats of forty tons burthen from Holſton, the falls excepted, where carrying places will anſwer until there are canals made, which can be done with very little expence.

Holſton is a narrow ſtrip of country ſurrounded on every ſide by mountains; but there is a paſſage which winds through them, ſo as to admit of a paſſage this way, and down the river, without any difficulty of bad roads whatever. Should you continue your route by land in the road to Kentucky (which I ſhall deſcribe in another place), you would have ſeveral mountains to paſs, and at leaſt two hundred miles of bad road.

After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your courſe to the Teneſee, the country is ſomewhat broken, but moſtly rich. Great part of the land lying between theſe rivers and the Ohio, and between Cumberland and Green rivers, was in military grants, made by Virginia to the officers and ſoldiers, and is eſteemed a valuable ſituation for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi. Their grants extend as low on the Miſſiſſippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina: all of which is a beautiful country: and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevents it from overflowing, which is not the caſe a great way lower down.

The land in the great bend of the Tenaſee is very fine; but when you approach the country of the Chickaſaws, it becomes broken, light, and ſandy: and as you extend to the ſouthward, I have been informed (I never travelled farther than this by land) the ſoil grows ſtill lighter, and except a large body of good land on the Miſſiſſippi and the bottoms of the ſeveral ſtreams which run into the Gulph and the Miſſiſſippi, it is little better than Weſt Florida; which has been celebrated in Europe for its fertility; but ſo fine a country have I been endeavouring to deſcribe to you, that, judging by compariſon, the people in Kentucky and Cumberland look upon that as an indifferent ſoil.

This letter has imperceptibly grown to a conſiderable length. I was anxious to comprehend within this ſketch, all the country denominated the weſtern country on both ſides of the Ohio to the Miami, and then the whole of the Kentucky and Cumberland countries, and the country upon the Tenaſee, in order that I might proceed up the Ohio on the weſtern ſide, comprehending the whole of the country between that and the Miſſiſſippi, back to the Miami, and continuing northward to the lakes: afterwards to ſhew the probable riſe and grandeur of the American empire, before I proceeded to an account of the artificial productions, &c. of Kentucky and Cumberland. Farewell.

Believe, my Friend,
I am yours ſincerely.

LETTER IV.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN contemplating the vaſt field of the American empire, what a ſtupenduous ſubject does it afford for ſpeculation! government, ethics, and commerce, acting upon principles different in many reſpects from thoſe of the old world, and entirely in others! A government which, with its ſpreading branches, ſeems in its mighty graſp to promiſe liberty and protection to one hemiſphere! A government which, from its ſimple conſtruction, and the unity and efficiency of its action, is not leſs remarkable in the political, than its natural hiſtory is to the phyſical world!

In ten years more, perhaps, a ſettlement will be formed ſufficiently populous, to become a federal ſtate in the country into which I am now going to advance; the limits of which, from the confluence of the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio to Detroit, is between five and ſix hundred miles; and taking the medium diſtance between Pittſburg and the mouth of the Ohio, acroſs to the Miſſiſſippi from the Ohio is very little leſs. The inhabitants of which immenſe diſtrict do not, including French, amount to five thouſand. The country in this fork (if I may ſo call it) is various. Great part of it has been deſcribed by Charlevoix, Hutchins, and Carver. Charlevoix ſeems to have gone rapidly from Detroit by water the greateſt part of the way to New Orleans. Hutchins to have done nearly the ſame from Pittſburg down the Ohio to the Miſſiſſippi, and up that river to the Illinois; ſo up that, and from thence to Detroit. He has given a tolerable good account of the Illinois country. Carver confined his travels and remarks to the lakes, the upper part of the Miſſiſſippi, particularly the river St. Pierre, and the north-weſtern branch of that river, and to the cuſtoms and manners of the Indian nations. Theſe authors have all conſiderable merit. They have written ſo agreeably, that their books have been generally read; which has tended to diſſeminate a knowledge of this country in a ſavage ſtate. This part of it is little better; but you muſt view it as a creation burſting from a chaos of heterogenous matter, and exhibiting the ſhining tiſſue with which it abounds.

Immediately in the fork the land is flat and liable to overflow; but as you advance on either river the banks riſe, and the country expanding, diſplays a luxuriant ſoil for a long diſtance above the Wabaſh on the Ohio ſide,

and

and quite to the Illinois on the Miſſiſſippi ſide; which is about two hundred and thirty miles above its junction with the Ohio, and twenty above the mouth of Miſſouri. This country lies nearly in the ſame parallel of latitude of of Kentucky. From the mouth of the Wabaſh the bottoms on the Ohio are extenſive and extremely fertile, as is the country from thence to Poſt St. Vincent; but towards the rapids of the Ohio, and beyond the bottoms of this river, the country is conſiderably broken, and the ſoil in ſome places light and indifferent. After leaving Poſt St. Vincent, in the route to the Illinois country, you ſoon fall into thoſe extenſive plains which have been deſcribed in ſuch glowing colours by Hutchins. This is certainly a beautiful country, and the immenſe number of deer, elk, and buffalo, which are ſeen grazing in thoſe natural meadows, renders even wildneſs enchanting. The air in this climate is pure, and the almoſt continual unclouded ſky tends not a little to charm the ſenſes. The country between Poſt St. Vincent and Kiſkaſkies is flat and plain, with little variation. As you aſcend the Illinois river the ſoil grows more fertile, and on either ſide you find immenſe foreſts.

I muſt now beg you will travel with Hutchins from hence to Detroit. He will conduct you up the head branches of this river, and, after a ſhort paſſage, you will embark again on the waters of lake Erie; diſcovering how the operations of this great country will be facilitated by the peculiar courſes of its immenſe and numerous rivers. His obſervations I have been told are conſiderably accurate, and as I have not had the advantage of travelling this route, I recommend you to read his book, which was originally publiſhed in England, and no doubt is ſtill to be had.

Detroit lies between lat. 42° and 43° upon the lake Erie, conſiderably to the weſtward of Pittſburg. The country lying between them is not remarkable for any thing but being a wilderneſs. The ſoil and climate is ſuch as would entitle it to the reputation of a fine country in any part of Europe, except in winter, when the froſt is extremely ſevere, but leſs intenſe than that of Canada. Quebec lies nearly in the ſame latitude of Paris, and from the deſcription which the Emperor Julian has given of the winters he quartered there, during his command in Gaul, there ſeems to be little difference between the winters of France at that period, in reſpect to cold, and the preſent winters of Canada. Perhaps the extent of continent lying to the north-weſt, and the immenſe lakes of freſh water which cover it, will not admit of the climate of that part of America being ſo rapidly meliorated as the climate of Europe has been by cultivation. However,

ever, it is certain, that as the country has been more opened in America, and thereby the rays of the ſun have acted more powerfully upon the earth, theſe benefits have tended greatly already to ſoften the winter ſeaſon: ſo that peopling Canada (for which we are much obliged to *you*) is a double advantage to *us*. Firſt, it is ſettling and populating a country, which muſt, ſooner or later, from the natural order of things, become part of our empire, and immediately meliorating the climate of the northern States. But, to return to Detroit. Our courſe from thence to the head waters of the Miamis is ſouth-weſterly. The country for ſome diſtance is flat, and the ſoil heavy and damp; but, upon the waters of thoſe rivers, it is beautiful, and rich in the gifts of nature.

The communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio by water this way, will be up the ſouthern branches of the lake, and by a ſhort paſſage you arrive upon the waters of the great Miami, which is navigable when it is flooded. It muſt be obſerved that the rivers I have been mentioning are not navigable, throughout the year, for boats of above ten or fifteen tons. Great part of the country between this and the Wabaſh is champaign; but in travelling towards the Rapids of the Ohio you paſs conſiderable plains, and then fall into a broken and hilly tract of poor land, which continues with little variation until you approach the Rapids, when all the variety and charms, which this river produces, preſent themſelves again. From Detroit to the Rapids is nearly four hundred miles.

I have gone curſorily over the weſtern country which is peopled and about to be peopled; but have purpoſely avoided taking any notice of thoſe parts which are ſo little known, and of which I could ſay nothing but from the information of hunters and ſavages, which has been induſtriouſly collected and publiſhed by Carver, Jefferſon, and others. Beſides, as it is your wiſh only to be informed of the advantages of ſettlement, it would have been idle to have troubled you with accounts of countries which will not be ſettled, or at leaſt formed into States, in our time.

The rapid population of the weſtern country has not only aſtoniſhed America itſelf, but it muſt amaze Europe, when they enter into the views and increaſe of this growing empire. The firſt ſettlement on the weſtern waters by the Engliſh was in 1760, and, under the influence of almoſt continual Indian wars, that ſettlement (I am now ſpeaking of the upper ſettlement on the Ohio) now contains not leſs than an hundred thouſand ſouls. The State of K[illegible]ucky did not make a permanent ſettlement before 1780, which now contains not leſs than an hundred thouſand. The Cumberland ſettlement began about this time, but it was at leaſt three years afterwards before there was ſecurity given to that ſettlement, and there are ſettled about fifty thouſand ſouls more. Beſides the ſettlement in the great bend of the Tenaſee, which will join them in their ſeparation from North Carolina, the ſettlement of Nola Chucky and French-broad, made on the branches of the Tenaſee in the year 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, contain between thirty and forty thouſand ſouls; ſeveral other ſettlements are forming at the Iron Banks on the Miſſiſippi, beſides thoſe upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, which, including the inhabitants at Poſt St. Vincent and the Kaſkaſkies (I judge from the beſt information) do not fall ſhort of fifty thouſand. I have not mentioned the number in the ſettlement of the great bend of the Tenaſee, as I have not been able to collect any ſatisfactory information reſpecting them; but I ſuppoſe the aggregate number of ſouls in the weſtern country is very little, if at all ſhort of four hundred thouſand, including the ſettlements of Holſton, Chinck river, and Powel's valley, which taken together may amount to ſeventy thouſand ſouls, and which are properly on the weſtern waters.

The ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio have been greatly harraſſed and retarded by the Indian war, which has continued with little variation ſince 1785; but the vigorous meaſures which their depredations have obliged Congreſs to adopt, muſt end with a permanent peace, or in a few years their provocations will lead to the extirpation of the whole of the Miami and Illinois tribes. Their prowefs and determined reſolution will, no doubt, conſiderably annoy our army, which, having been moſtly recruited from the Atlantic country, are not acquainted with ſuch dexterity and courage, or indeed habituated to their manner of fighting; but our numbers have grown too conſiderable; for, defeats only invigorate our meaſures, while the loſs of every man, to nations whoſe populations is ſo extremely tardy as that of the ſavages of America, is a lamentable conſideration.

In the peopling this country new States will naturally ariſe; and thus, in contemplating the continent of America, we may form an adequate idea of what will be the magnitude of its federal empire. The upper ſettlement on the Ohio, though more populous than the ſettlement of Cumberland, is not likely to become a ſeparate State ſo ſoon. The greateſt part of it is within the limits of Pennſylvania, and not ſo remote from the capital of that State, as the Cumberland ſettlement is from the capital of North Carolina. The intercourſe is continual, and the productions of the country, or at leaſt their cattle may be driven to Philadelphia, &c. as I have obſerved before; and their influence is not ſufficient to procure them an act of ſeparation,

ration, ſhould they deſire it. In the caſe of North Carolina and Cumberland there is little or no communication between them, nor is it to be expected that it ever can be the intereſt of either to continue the connection; therefore, it is moſt likely, that diſtrict will follow Kentucky in the links of the great federal chain.

I muſt now proceed upon conjecture, as there are no definite limits preſcribed by the federal government for the lines of demarkation, which are to be the different boundaries or limits of new States which will ariſe. However it is eaſy, by conſulting natural boundaries, to form a pretty juſt idea where will be their different diviſions. I have already remarked that Kentucky and Cumberland are divided by a line in lat. 36 ½°, which will be the boundary of Cumberland to the northward. The mountains will moſt likely be its eaſtern limits: its ſouthern limits will be, either the partition line continued between North Carolina and Georgia (South Carolina never poſſeſſed any weſtern land,) or it will run ſoutherly, until it ſtrikes that ridge of hills which divides the Tenaſee country from the country of the Chacktaws; thence a due weſt courſe to the Miſſiſſippi, or following ſome one of thoſe branches which riſe in thoſe hills, and purſuing its courſe to that river. This will comprehend a diſtrict of country of nearly two hundred miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and nearly an hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. I cannot ſpeak here with accuracy, as it is that part of all the weſtern country which is leaſt known.

The country upon the head waters of the Tenaſee ſtands next in the liſt of advancement. This country includes the ſettlement of Holſton, the ſettlement of Clinch, and the ſettlements of Powel's Valley, which are part in Virginia and part in North Carolina; beſides the ſettlements of Nola Chucka and Frenchbroad. This laſt ſettlement will be extended to the borders of the Cherokee country, which will bind this State to the ſouthward. Its weſtern boundary will be Cumberland mountain, which will divide it from the States of Kentucky and Cumberland. Its northern limits will be the ridges of hills which divides the waters of the Tenaſee and the Great Kanaway, and its eaſtern boundary will be the high hills which divides the eaſtern from the weſtern waters in this part of America, which are called in Virginia the north mountains, and which continue their courſe through the Carolinas. This State will be in extent upwards of two hundred miles from north to ſouth, and the average width from eaſt to weſt, nearly an hundred and fifty.

This country has mountains on every ſide but the ſouth-weſt, and is interſperſed with high hills in moſt parts of it. The valleys are extremely fertile, and every where finely watered. The climate in the upper part of the country is not ſo temperate as that of Kentucky, though it lies in the ſame latitude, which is owing to the neighbouring mountains. Many parts of this diſtrict are well ſettled, and cultivation was brought to ſuch conſiderable perfection, that the inhabitants had it in contemplation to become independent ſeven years ſince, under the diſtinction of the State of Franklin, which very probably you may have read of. Its population is not only conſiderable, but its reſpectability in every reſpect will very ſoon intitle it to the rank of a diſtinct State; though it may require ſome time to effect a unity of ſentiments, and a conſolidation of its various and detached ſettlements into that order which the organs of government require.

Before I leave this ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, I muſt beg leave to digreſs, and ſhew what will be the probable deſtination of the Indian nations, who live between the ſouthern limits of the country I have been mentioning, and the Floridas, and which may amount to thirteen thouſand, incluſive of men, women, and children. The Cherokees are about two thouſand five hundred; the Creeks three thouſand five hundred; the Chacktaws, are about ſix thouſand; and the different vagrant nations may amount to a thouſand more. The ſettlements making in the upper parts of Georgia, upon the fine lands of the Oconee and Okemulgee rivers, will in a very few years bid defiance to them in that quarter. The Georgian troops have already defeated them, and forced them to be quiet.—— The ſettlement of French-broad, aided by Holſton, have nothing to fear from them; and the Cumberland is too puiſſant to apprehend any danger. The Spaniards are in poſſeſſion of the Floridas (how long they will remain ſo muſt depend upon their moderation and good manners), and the ſettlements at the Natchez and above, which will ſoon extend to the ſouthern boundaries of Cumberland; ſo that they will be completely enveloped in a few years. Our people will continue to encroach upon them on three ſides, which will compel them to live more domeſtic lives, and aſſimilate them to our mode of living, or croſs to the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

In the ſettlement of Long Iſland, in the State of New-York, ſome of the tribes of Indians remained, and lived in continual intercourſe with the whites. Whether it was from any cruelty practiſed upon them, or from their predominant paſſion for ardent ſpirits, I will not pretend to ſay; but it is certain that very few of them remain, and they are a ſlothful, degenerate order of beings, compared with the aborigines of that country. In the ſettlement of South Carolina the Catawbas were allotted a tract of country, and though they have retained their courage, their numbers have greatly declined. The cauſe of civilization proving repugnant to their population, I think, may be ſufficiently accounted for in the whites encouraging their thirſt for intoxication.

I will next take notice of the Genaſee country, which lies upon the waters that run into lake Ontario, and which it is expected will be peopled as ſoon as the Six Nations of Indians are peaceable. This is a very rich and fertile tract of country, lying in the remote parts of New York, bounded by Pennſylvania to the ſouth-eaſt, by the lakes to the north-weſt, and high hills and a wilderneſs from the Ohio country. I have hitherto omitted taking notice of it, as not properly belonging to the weſtern country; but as I am going to proceed to partition the country weſt of the Ohio into ſeparate States, I thought it moſt conſiſtent to keep up the chain of connection; and without mentioning this diſtrict, there would have been a chaſm between New York and the uppermoſt State upon the waters of the Ohio.

I will now return to the Ohio. That ridge of hills which divides the waters of this river from that of the lakes running ſouth-weſterly, until they run north-weſterly and divide the ſources of the Wabaſh and Illinois rivers from the ſouthern branches of the lakes, will moſt likely mark the limits to the weſt of the Upper State upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio. The ridge of hills which divides the waters of the Allegany river from thoſe of the Genaſee, will bound it to the north; the Allegany river and the Ohio to the eaſt, and the Muſkingum to the ſouth. The next ſtate I ſhould form between the Muſkingum and Sciota, the Ohio and that ridge of hills between the ſources of theſe rivers and thoſe of Lake Erie. The third, between the Sciota, the Great Miami, the Ohio, and the ſame ridge of hills. The country lying between the Miami, Wabaſh, the Ohio, and the ſame hills, I would put into another State; and the country lying between the Wabaſh, Ohio, Miſſiſſippi, and Illinois rivers, I would eſtabliſh into a fifth State.

Between the mouth of the Illinois river and waters of lake Michegan, lies a diſtrict of country equally fertile with any part of the weſtern country; but, in the progreſſion of our ſettlements, it will be ſome years before any ſettlements can be formed there, except in the fork of the Miſſiſſippi and Illinois; which may be erected into a State, by running a line from St. Anthony's falls, in ſuch a direction as to ſtrike the head branches of the Illinois. But it is moſt likely that the country on the Miſſiſſippi and Miſouri will be ſettled before this diſtrict, though it is conſidered as the empire of Spain. However, I will not be ſo indecorous as to parcel out the territories of other nations: it is ſufficiently preſumptuous to have gone ſo far as I have.

I have now marked out the imaginary boundaries of ſix new States excluſive of thoſe on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, the Genaſee ſettlement, and without including the country between the northern limits of Kentucky and Pittſburg, or the country between Niagara, Detroit, and the ſources of thoſe rivers which run into the Ohio.

The upper ſettlement on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, will moſt likely follow the Cumberland and Holſton in its independence. In peopling the new States I conclude the lowermoſt will be firſt ſettled; and conſequently the firſt to be admitted into the federal government. The diſtrict of country that will be laſt ſettled in all probability, between the Ohio, the lakes, and the Miſſiſſippi, to the ſouth of St. Anthony's Falls, is perhaps, that which lies between Niagara and Detroit, and extending to the ridge of hills which divides the waters of lake Erie and Ohio, by reaſon of its damp and cold ſoil. The ſurrender of the forts of Niagara and Detroit (which I underſtand is about to be done), may increaſe the ſettlements upon the borders of lake Erie; but I think it is not likely that that unhoſpitable clime will find inhabitants, while the genial regions of the Miſſiſſippi are in a great meaſure uninhabited.

It is next neceſſary to take notice how, and in what probable time, theſe States will be inhabited. The firſt ſettlement upon the Ohio and the progreſs made in agriculture was extremely tardy. But it is neceſſary to recollect that America was not only in an infant ſtate at the concluſion of the war in 1763, but that the continual wars with the Indians greatly retarded the progreſs of that ſettlement; and if the ſame obſtructions have been given to the ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, it is equally certain that the exhauſted condition of the finances of the United States, until within a year and a half paſt, did not permit them to take thoſe vigorous meaſures neceſſary to their tranquillity, and that permanent ſettlements on that ſide of the river, and the increaſe of the neceſſaries of life (which are now in greater abundance in the weſtern country than in any other part of America) will enable them to ſupport their ſituation with infinitely more eaſe, than when we were obliged to bring almoſt every thing for uſe over the mountain.

I have eſtimated the number of ſouls on the weſtern waters at 400,000. I ſhould ſuppoſe, from the diſpoſition to early marriages, which is general, and the extraordinary fecundity which is every where obſerved, with the addition of the emigrants who may be expected from the eaſtern States, that the inhabitants will double once in 15 years for the next 60 years to come at leaſt,—which in the firſt 15 years will be equal to peopling four or five of theſe States; and I think we may expect to ſee at the end of 30 years the whole country I have been deſcribing inhabited.

The ratio of increaſe after the firſt 30 years appears almoſt too aſtoniſhing for belief:—6,400,000 ſouls increaſe in the courſe of 60 years, when it is notorious that all America added to her population little more than 2,000,000 in the courſe of a century, no doubt will appear a calculation too extravagant; for which reaſon it will be neceſſary for me to ſtate the riſe of the one, and the probable growth of the other.

Mr. Jefferſon, in his notes on Virginia (to which I ſhall have frequent occaſion to advert in my ſubſequent letters), allows a duplication only once in 27¼ years. He takes the ſpace of 118 years incluſive from 1654 until the year 1772, when the tythes of Virginia had increaſed from 7209 to 135, 095; which eſtimate he ſays is corroborated by the particular uniformity of the intermediate enumerations taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759. According to this increaſe, he ſuppoſes the inhabitants of Virginia alone will amount to between 6 and 7,000,000 within ninety-ſix years.

It appears, by a ſtatement which he has made of the emigrants in different years to that country, that the greateſt number in any one year was 3050, which was the year 1620. From the year 1624 the diſſolution of the Virginia Company took place, and importations almoſt ceaſed until it became the practice of your government to tranſport convicts to the Colonies; ſo that it does not appear that the peopling of Virginia was materially owing to the migrations from Europe: whereas I have known upwards of 10,000 emigrants to arrive in the ſingle State of Kentucky within one year, and from 4 to 10,000 in ſeveral other years.

Great part of the country from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Florida upon the ſea coaſt is unfavourable to agriculture. New England has never yet produced corn ſufficient to ſupply its inhabitants with bread; which muſt proceed either from the ignorance of the arts of huſbandry in that country, or from the poverty of the ſoil. I believe both have helped to retard the progreſs of agriculture. Long Iſland is chiefly a ſand heap, where the inhabitants ſeem for a great length of time to have been content to live upon fiſh. The State of New-York for a conſiderable diſtance back is a combination of hills and ſtones. The country from Poloulhook to the capes of the Delaware is a flat of nothing but ſalt marſhes and pine barrens, which extend for twenty miles up the country; and the whole country from thoſe capes ſouthward to the Gulf of Florida is no better, for a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, the bottoms of the rivers excepted; ſo that the firſt ſettlers of America had not only the natives to contend againſt, but alſo extreme poverty.

The extenſion of the Dutch ſettlement from New York up Hudſon's river to the fine lands about Albany, and to the fertile banks of the Rariton, in Jerſey, and the ſettlement of Pennſylvania by the celebrated Penn, firſt produced that plenty which is not only neceſſary to comfort, but is eſſential to occaſion that fecundity which diſtinguiſhes the rapid population of moſt infant countries, after they have overcome the firſt difficulties of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement.

As the natives were driven back, the ſettlers began to penetrate into the fertile regions of the middle parts of the States; which lie at ſome diſtance from the ſea coaſt. But, ſeveral cauſes now combined to retard the population of the country. The unfavourable appearance of the ſoil of New England induced moſt of its inhabitants to lead ſea faring lives, which not only tend to check the natural increaſe of men by the loſſes incidental to ſuch an employment, but, hinder, in a materal degree, the propagation of the ſpecies, by the ſeparation of the ſexes.

This buſineſs was in ſome meaſure common to the whole colonies. Beſides which, the wars in which England was often engaged againſt France and Spain, and in which we were alſo concerned, with the frequent Indian wars, and the late American war, helped not a little to obſtruct the natural proportion of the increaſe of inhabitants. America had only croſſed the line between poverty and affluence when the late unfortunate war commenced. However, there was a ſtill more nefarious and deteſtable cauſe for this ſlowneſs of population ariſing from the introduction of African ſlavery. Men began then to look upon it as infamous to labour—amuſements were invented to fill up their time—diſſipation followed in all the exceſs of idleneſs and folly. The fair ſex were neglected: marriages were leſs early, and leſs frequent.—— And thus it happened that the inhabitants of Virginia were found to double only once in 27¼ years, and which has been adopted by ſome perſons as a criterion to eſtimate the increaſe of the inhabitants of all the other States; but it is not a fair criterion, for it is notorious that Pennſylvania is much better peopled than Virginia, though its firſt ſettlement was at a later date. But, now, for the reverſe. Though we enjoy an extenſive inland navigation, we are not liable to the ſame loſs of men which the perils of the ſea produees; nor any of that loſs which maritime countries ſuffer by their citizens entering into foreign ſervice, or ſettling in foreign countries: our voyages will be regulated by the periodical floods, and the æras of abſence will be more determinate and certain; ſo that abſence here cannot ſo materially interrupt domeſtic happineſs, and cannot in the leaſt retard the increaſe of inhabitants. It is impoſſible that we can experience any thing like poverty, for no country, perhaps, upon the globe is ſo rich in the comforts and neceſſaries of life. As to wars, we can have none after a few years more are paſt. The Spaniards may put us to ſome inconvenience for a few years to come; but, in doing this, they will not only riſk the loſs of New Orleans, but the whole of Louiſiana, which they conſider as the key to Mexico. Thus ſecured from wars, and the inland navigation of the country not ſubjecting us to material loſſes in that buſineſs; with the propenſity to early marriages, produced by the ſimplicity and innocence of youth, tutored under the pure maxims of virtue and reaſon; it cannot be conſidered as a ſanguine calculation, when we add the additional conſideration of the probable number of emigrants we may receive, that our population will double once in fifteen years.

Having endeavoured to give you an idea of the country north-weſt of the Ohio, omitted in my laſt; and what will be the probable partitions of the New States to be laid off on that ſide of the river, the population, and expected increaſe of the inhabitants of the weſtern country; I ſhall take leave of you for the preſent, and in my next you ſhall have an account of its productions, navigations, &c.

I remain, affectionately,

Your's, &c.

LETTER V.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN the advancement of civilization, agriculture ſeems to have been in every country the primary object of mankind—Arts and ſciences have followed, and, ultimately, they have been relevant to each other. Fortunately for mankind, the preſent æra of reaſon, not only admits, but makes it neceſſary that they ſhould go hand in hand. The decency of life is not the ſmalleſt of ſublunary blandiſhments. Purity is to the body what virtue is to the ſoul;—an eternal invigorating germ, whoſe bloſſoms diffuſe the moſt fragrant odours, and give a vivacity to the mind equally manly and delightful.

The weſtern limits of the federal empire are bounded on the north by the lakes, Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Michegan, Superior, and the lake of the wood; to the weſt by the Miſſiſſippi; and extending as far ſouth as the Natchez, or lat. 32 deg. then is bound by the Floridas to the ſouth. What is called the weſtern territory lies on this ſide of the Allegany mountain, within theſe limits.

Here is found all the variety of ſoil and climate neceſſary to the culture of every kind of grain, fibrous plants, cotton, fruits, vegetables, and all ſorts of proviſions. The upper ſettlements on the Ohio produce chiefly wheat, oats, barley, rye, Indian corn or maze, hemp and flax. The fruits, are apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plumbs, ſtrawberries, raſberries, currants, gooſe-berries and grapes; of culinary plants and vegetables, there are turnips, potatoes, carrots, parſnips, cymbiline or ſquaſh, cucumbers, peaſe, beans, aſparagus, cabbages, brocali, celery and ſallads; beſides which there are melons and herbs of every ſort. The proviſion conſiſt of beef, pork, mutton, veal, and a variety of poultry, ſuch as ducks, Muſcovy ducks, turkeys, geeſe, dunghill fowls and pidgeons. The ſuperfluous proviſions are ſold to the emigrants who are continually paſſing through thoſe ſettlements, in their route to the different diſtricts of country, and which I have enumerated. Some conſiderable quantity of ſpirits diſtilled from rye, and likewiſe cyder, are ſent down the river to a market, in thoſe infant ſettlements where the inhabitants have not had time to bring orchards to any perfection, or have not a ſuperfluity of grain to diſtil into ſpirits. The beef, pork, and flour are diſpoſed of in the ſame way. The flax and hemp are packed on horſes and ſent acroſs the mountain to the inland towns of Pennſylvania and Maryland, and (as I hinted in a former letter) in a few years when grazing forms the principal object of thoſe ſettlers, they will always find a market for their cattle at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

Theſe ſettlements might produce a conſiderable quantity of ſugar, but hitherto what they have made has ſerved for little more than home conſumption, as every part of the back country from lat. 42 to 36° produces an abundance of the ſugar maple-tree as would be equal to furniſh ſugar for the inhabitants of the whole earth : and to ſend it to any of the market towns on the Atlantic, is too far to be profitable until the canals of the Potowmac ſhall have been finiſhed. That country produces alſo all the pot-herbs which are common in Europe : ſeveral kinds of nuts grow in the foreſts, ſuch as cheſnuts, hickory, and black walnuts. The mountains, hills, and uninhabited parts abound in deer, wild turkeys, and a ſpecies of grouſe which are called by the Americans promiſcuouſly partridge or pheaſant. There is an abundance of wild fowl, as is indeed the caſe in every part of the weſtern country : to enumerate theſe could prove neither amuſement or inſtruction.

Linen and woollen cloths, leather, and hats, for home conſumption, are manufactured with

conſiſiderable ſucceſs. The two firſt articles are only made in families for their own uſe; but the latter are made by men of profeſſion in that buſineſs, and are of a quality that would not diſgrace the mechanics of Europe. Blackſmiths work of all ſorts, even to making fire arms, is done there; as is alſo cabinet work, wheel-wright, mill-wright, houſe carpentry, joinery, ſhoe-making, &c. &c. in ſhort, all the trades immediately neceſſary to the promotion of the comforts of new ſettlements, are to be found here.

After paſſing to the ſouthward of lat 40 deg. the climate becomes favourable to the culture of tobacco. It will, no doubt, grow farther to the north; but neither its flavour is ſo aromatic, or the crop ſo certain or productive. Indeed the farther ſouth tobacco grows, generally the finer its quality: hence it is, that the ſaegars of Cuba are ſo much admired for their peculiar ſcent, and the Oroonookoo for its mildneſs. However, this is of little conſequence to any country, as it is certain no cultivation is ſo pernicious to the ſoil, and of ſo little real advantage to the cultivator. It continually impoveriſhes the land; and every additional ſeaſon, inſtead of producing riches to an eſtate, tends to beggar it: every veſtige of its growth is miſery and devaſtation, and no ſoil, but one as prolific as that of the Nile, would be capable of producing it for any length of time, according to the ſyſtem which has been purſued in Virginia and Maryland. However the whole of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi country below lat. 40 deg. is perhaps better adapted to produce tobacco in quantity than any other country upon the face of the globe.

Kentucky produces, beſides tobacco, all the different kinds of grain, which I have deſcribed, in the upper ſettlement; all the fruits, with the addition of apricots and nectarines; theſe and peaches grow here to very great perfection, particularly when planted upon a light ſoil, which ſhould always be the caſe when it can be found; but however extraordinary it may appear, it is not often the caſe in this diſtrict of country.

Thoſe culinary plants, vegetables, &c. I have enumerated above, are produced in the whole weſtern country. In ſome parts they grow to greater perfection than in others, as in this the cucumber, turnips, peas, and many others are much finer than I ever ſaw them any where beſide. The cantilope melon is only to be equalled by thoſe in Perſia. We are not at the trouble and expence of forcing. Every thing put into the ground of the vegetable kind, grows in a moſt wonderful manner.

The ſoil is uncommonly favourable to hemp and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 buſhels of the latter.

This has not only been done from an uncommon fertile ſpot; but there are large bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe, that, were I to mention upon an average the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows:

Hemp per acre	800 cwt.
Indian corn, or maze, ditto	60 buſhels.
Wheat, ditto - - - - -	30 ditto.
Barley, ditto - - -	40 ditto.
Oats, ditto - - -	50 ditto.
Clover and timothy graſs, ditto	25 cwt.

Beſides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with conſiderable ſucceſs, particularly in the ſouthern parts of the State and Cumberland; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our ſettlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. No ſoil or climate can be more congenial to this plant than the regions on the lowermoſt parts of the Miſſiſſippi. We have it in our power to promote the culture of ſilk alſo. The mildneſs of the climate and the great quantity of the mulberry trees, which are every where interſperſed in our foreſts, renders this matter extremely eaſy; but how far this will be politic, when the uſe of ſilk is going out of faſhion, is a matter that requires ſome conſideration. Cotton has ſupplied its place, and its ſuperior excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The growth of wool will form an important conſideration with us. The plains I have deſcribed, extend quite to the mountains, ſo that ſheep here, may have every advantage which the flocks of Spain enjoy. If we can form any idea from the ſamples of wool produced in many parts of the country, we may conclude that our moſt ſanguine expectations will be fully anſwered.

The buffalo are moſtly driven out of Kentucky. Some are ſtill found upon the head waters of Licking creek, Great Sandy, and the head waters of Green river. Deer abound in the extenſive foreſts; but the elk confines itſelf moſtly to the hilly and uninhabited places.

The rapidity of the ſettlement has driven the wild turkey quite out of the middle countries; but they are found in large flocks in all our extenſive woods.

Amidſt the mountains and broken countries are great numbers of the grouſe I have deſcribed; and ſince the ſettlement has been eſtabliſhed, the quail, by following the trail of grain which is neceſſarily ſcattered through the wilderneſs, has migrated from the old ſettlements on the other ſide the mountain, and has become a conſtant reſident with us. This bird was unknown here on the firſt peopling of the country.

There is a variety of wild-fowl in every part of this State, particularly teal, and the ſummer duck. The latter breeds with us. Its incubation is always in temperate climates, which is the reaſon of its being called the ſummer duck.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the ſame as thoſe of Kentucky. The quality of Tobacco is perhaps ſomething better; but the climate being conſiderably warmer, it is not ſo favourable to wheat and barley, nor does graſs grow there ſo luxuriantly as with us.

The country below Cumberland ſoon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps theſe articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Miſſiſſippi with as much ſucceſs, if not more, than they ever were in South Carolina or Georgia; particularly the former, as the ſoil on the Miſſiſſippi is infinitely more luxuriant than any in the Carolinas. Some eſſays were made in this buſineſs, previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned in the deſtruction of the ſettlement I mentioned in a former letter, made below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and ſome diſtance above, to conſiderable perfection. There are a variety of nuts which grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, ſome of which are common to both; the moſt remarkable of which is the Pacane; but as they have all been noticed, both by

Carver and Jefferſon, I ſhall refer you to them for their particular deſcriptions and properties. Grapes, plumbs, gooſberries, and ſtrawberries, grow alſo ſpontaneouſly in the ſouthern parts of Kentucky, and in moſt parts of Cumberland.

The produce of the weſtern country will be nearly the ſame in the ſame parallels of latitude throughout; ſo that comparing my imaginary States, with the ſettled country ſouth-eaſt of the Ohio, you will be able to form a juſt idea of what they will be capable of producing. But to comprehend the object of the commerce of this country, it is firſt neceſſary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not deſirable; with a ſoil ſo prolific, a navigation ſo extenſive, and a ſecurity ſo permanent from being inland, that it ſeems this vaſt extent of empire is only to be equalled for its ſublimity but by the object of its aggrandizement.

Proviſions, tobacco, and raw materials will conſtitute the firſt articles of our trade. Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheeſe, &c. &c. might be furniſhed from this country as will, one day, no doubt, furniſh the Weſt India iſlands, and afford relief to the miſerable Chineſe, whoſe ſcanty portion of rice is only ſufficient to keep ſoul and body together. Our mountainous countries muſt always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the graſs, in ſummer, affording ſufficient food to fatten them, without the expence of cultivated meadows, and the winters are ſeldom ſo ſevere as to require any other food than the cane and pea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The diſtance from one place to another has been computed with ſome degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made confirm the opinion that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of deſcending the ſtream is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that about 50 or 60 tons burthen would be the moſt convenient, wieldy, and conſequently ſafe, particularly when the waters are very high, for in ſuch caſes the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy maſs with facility. Theſe boats are built of oak plank, with a certain proportion of breadth to their length, *i. e.* nearly as 12 feet to 40; which will be a boat of nearly 40 tons. They are covered or not as occaſion may require. The object is to build them as cheap as poſſible, for their unwieldineſs prevents the poſſibility of their returning, and they can only be ſold as plank.

Several of theſe boats ſetting out together, let us ſuppoſe 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burthen each, which would require each 6 hands to navigate them. Ten boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the ſtream 30 boats of 5 tons each, and which would be more than ſufficient to bring back the cargo which the produce of the ten boats would purchaſe; as the articles we export are groſs and bulky, while we want only in return ſuperfine goods: the coarſer goods of every ſort will always be manufactured in the country. We alſo make our own ſalt, ſugar, ſpirits, malt liquor, and ſhall ſoon make our own wine. Theſe boats muſt be worked up with ſteam and ſails.

The invention of carrying a boat againſt the ſtream by the influence of ſteam, is a late improvement in philoſophy by a Mr. Rumſey of Virginia, whoſe ingenuity has been rewarded by that State with the excluſive privilege of navigating thoſe boats in her rivers for 10 years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of ſeparation guarantees his right. Some circumſtance or other has prevented his bringing them into uſe. However there can be no doubt of the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, for the Aſſembly of Virginia had the moſt unequivocal aſſurances before they gave the privilege, in a certificate ſigned by General Waſhington and Mann Page Eſquire; ſetting forth that they had ſeen a boat which they believed to be conſtructed by Mr. Rumſey, aſcend a ſtream without the aid of manual labour, but without mentioning the operating cauſe, which has ſince appeared to be ſteam. If this principle ſhould fail (and from ſuch authority I do not conceive how it is to be preſumed,) I flatter myſelf that philoſophy is capable of ſupplying the place in the appropriation of ſome one of the ſecrets with which mechanics abound.

In taking a retroſpective view of the world, we are for a moment ſurpriſed when we recollect that ſome thouſands of years had elapſed before printing was invented, and that the only way of accumulating the copies of art and genius was by the tardy method of tranſcribing; and that the art of navigation was for nearly as long a time devious, and regulated by no certain laws, the ſtars and head lands of different countries being the only guides to the adventurous mariner, who often periſhed when the heavens were obſcured. O Liberty! how many bleſſings haſt thou brought us! Man, in promulgating his opinions, now finds ſecurity under the wings of an eſtabliſhed freedom; and the diſmal dungeon which eclipſed the luminous mind of the celebrated Italian, would now be erected into a ſchool for him to lecture in, inſtead of a priſon to bewail the miſerable ignorance and depravity of his fellow-creatures. Truth and reaſon have led to this melioration of manners, it will lead to more benefits to mankind.—But ſhould we ſtill be obliged to row our boats againſt the ſtream, it is not only practicable but eaſy.

The frequent turnings in the Miſſiſſippi produce in every bend eddy water, which with the advantage the wind affords (which blowing the greater part of the year from the ſouthweſt, and directly up the windings of the river, which, by reaſon of the vacancy between the banks and riſing foreſts on either ſide, afford a channel for the current of the air) is ſufficient with ſails, keeping as much as poſſible in the eddy water, to carry a boat 50 miles a day up the ſtream.

To account for thoſe winds philoſophically would be extremely eaſy; but, as it is a circumſtance notorious from the teſtimony of voyagers in the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio, I preſume the teſt of experience will be preferred to any philoſophical diſquiſition upon the ſubject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulf of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a ſhort paſſage to a branch of the Tenaſee, when you will have the advantage of the ſtream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumſtance merely for the ſake of information, for I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making.

The diſtance from Pittſburg to the Muſkingum is 173 miles; to the Little Kenhaway 178; to the Great Kenhaway 285; to Great Sandy 342; to the Scioto 390; to Limeſtone 500; to the Little Miami 510; to Licking creek 524; to the Great Miami 550; to the Great-bone creek 582; to the Kentucky 626; to the Rapiers 703; to Salt river 723; to Green river 922; to the Wabaſh 1019; to Cumberland river 1113; to the Tenaſee 1126; to the Miſſiſſippi 1183; from thence to New Orleans is about 1200.

I have mentioned that it is about 230 from the mouth of the Ohio up the Miſſiſſippi to the mouth of the Miſouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its ſource. From thence there is a portage only of 2 miles to Chickago, which is alſo navigable for batteaux to its entrance into lake Michegan, which is a diſtance of 16 miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence through lake Erie, paſſing Niagara by a portage of 8 miles. The lakes Erie and Michegan are navigable for veſſels drawing 6 and 7 feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities between the northern and ſouthern parts of this empire will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourſe, it will be found extremely eaſy to paſs through lake Ontario to Wood creek, up Wood creek, and by a portage of about 3 miles you arrive at a creek, which in 3 miles more brings you to Fort Edward upon the Mohawk river, which is a branch of Hudſon's river. There are ſeveral carrying places between that and its junction with Hudſon; but very little labour would remove them, and I have no doubt but the State of New York will be judicious enough to ſet early about it. It is certain that they have ordered ſurveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of thoſe obſtructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impoſſible a plan of ſuch utility could eſcape that ſage and penetrating politician General Schuyler, whoſe vaſt eſtate lies moſtly in that part of America.

There are alſo portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabaſh, Great Miami, Muſkingum, and Allegany, from 2 to 16 miles. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about 20 miles when the obſtructions in the Monongahala and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the firſt object of the gentlemen of Virginia when they have completed the canals on the Potowmac.

The obſtructions to the navigation of the

Great Kanhaway are of ſuch magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them; but if ever that ſhould be done, there will be an eaſy communication between that and James river, and likewiſe with the Oroonookoo, which runs through North Carolina. But this is an event too remote to deſerve any conſideration at preſent.

All the rivers in this country of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable almoſt to their ſources for flat bottomed boats during their floods, and for batteaux the greater part of the year, the great Kanhaway and little Miami excepted. The Temaſce has a conſiderable fall where it paſſes through Cumberland Mountain, where there muſt be a portage alſo. From thence it is navigable quite to Holſton.

The rapids of the Ohio I have deſcribed in a former letter. They are no obſtruction in high water to boats going down the river, and indeed batteaux may paſs almoſt at any time. There are two ſmall rapids in the Wabaſh between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaſkaſkia is a ſmall river which runs into the Miſſiſſippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a conſiderable way above the plains. The Miſſiſſippi is navigable to St. Anthony's Falls, without any obſtruction. Carver deſcribes it as navigable above them as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Miſouri to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is however certain, that it is a more powerful ſtream than the Miſſiſſippi, and in entering that river, it triumphantly ruſhes acroſs, and its turbid waters, unmixed, ſeem to diſdain a connection ſo inferior. From the beſt information that we have been able to collect, it is navigable for 12 or 1500 miles above its mouth without obſtruction; and I think it is not unlikely that in ſettling the country towards its ſource, we ſhall find it is not remote from the ſources of the ſtreams running into the Pacific Ocean, and that a communication may be opened between them with as much eaſe as between the Ohio and Potowmac, and alſo between the ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi and California. This circumſtance is the more likely to happen, as it does not appear that the ridges of hills which divide the waters of the Pacific ocean from the waters of the Miſſiſſippi, are either ſo high or ſo rugged as the Allegany mountain.

You will obſerve, that as far as this immenſe continent is known, the courſes and extent of its rivers are extremely favourable to communication by water; a circumſtance which is highly important, whether we regard it in a ſocial or commercial point of view. The intercourſe of men has added no inconſiderable luſtre to the poliſh of manners, and perhaps, commerce has tended more to civilize and embelliſh the human mind, in two centuries, than war and chivalry would have done in five.

The federal government regulating every thing commercial, muſt be productive of the greateſt harmony, ſo that while we are likely to live in the regions of perpetual peace, our felicity will receive a zeſt from the activity and variety of our trade. We ſhall paſs through the Miſſiſſippi to the ſea—up the Ohio, Monongahala and Cheat rivers, by a ſmall portage, into the Potowmac, which will bring us to the federal city on the line of Virginia and Maryland—through the ſeveral rivers I have mentioned, and the lakes to New-York and Quebec—from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudſon's-bay into the Arctic regions—and from the ſources of the Miſouri into the Great South Sea. Thus in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reaſon and humanity, we ſeem calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world.

Before I finiſh this letter, I ſhall juſt enter into ſome of the minutiæ of the diſtance and time of deſcending down the Ohio, which will ſerve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr Jefferſon has ſtated that "the inundations of the Ohio begin about the laſt of March, and ſubſide in July." He has written his notes on

Virginia

Virginia like a man of Erudition, and conſidering that he never was in this country, he has given ſuch an account of it as cannot be diſpleaſing to an European. But, as in every thing which has characterized his political life, his judgment in this appears ſuperficial, and his mind attached to the theory of its own fabrication. Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio, and it is an uncommon ſeaſon when one of thoſe floods does not happen before Chriſtmas. If there is much froſty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over (which is not very common,) there is always water ſufficient for boats of any ſize from November until May; when the waters generally begin to ſubſide; and by the middle of June in moſt ſeaſons they are too low for boats above forty tons, and theſe muſt be flat-bottomed. The froſt ſeldom continues ſo long as the middle of February, and immediately upon its breaking the river is flooded; this flood may in a degree ſubſide, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The diſtance of deſcending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average diſtance is about eighty miles in twenfour hours, and from ſixty to one hundred are the extremes: ſo that the mean time of going in a flat-bottomed boat from Pittſburg to the Rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New Orleans: which will make a paſſage from Pittſburg to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Miſſiſippi commence ſomething later than thoſe of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and ſubſide in July. This is the moſt proper time to aſcend the river, as you avoid the ſhoals, have finer weather, but above all, when the water is high, you have ſtronger eddies; and with taking theſe advantages, and with dexterous watermen, you may proceed fifty miles a day which will bring you back to the Rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I ſhall take leave of you for the preſent, with obſerving, that the ſmaller rivers have no ſettled periods to govern their inundations; but are ſubject to be flooded by all heavy rains, which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of ſending their produce to the ſeveral markets upon the large rivers.

I am,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VI.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN the œconomy of the creation how wonderfully is the wiſdom of Providence diſplayed? Some animals are formed with particular ſtomachs, as in the inſtance of the camel which has one adapted to contain water. It is aboriginal in the torrid zone, where the rarefaction of the air is ſo great, and conſequently more ſubject to drought. In the Artic regions we find the muſk buffalo, or goat, clad with long wool, which ſecures it againſt inclement cold. Man, the moſt defenceleſs, naked, and helpleſs of all in an infant ſtate, in his maturity is ſuperior in reaſon; and thus the faculties of his mind and body, unite in making him ſovereign of the world. "Born to deſtroy the inferior race of animals, he would exhauſt all nature, if, by a fecundity ſuperior to his depredations, ſhe did not repair the perpetual havock he makes. But death is only the miniſter of life, and deſtruction is the parent of reproduction."

The articles of ſugar and ſalt, though not abſolutely neceſſaries of life, have become, from habit, ſo eſſential, that I doubt if any civilized people would be content to live without them. The extenſive climate of this country I believe is no where warm enough for the cultivation of the ſugar cane with ſucceſs; and to import it would be too expenſive by reaſon of its great weight; but nature has ſuperſeded that neceſſity in the ſupply of the ſugar maple tree. It has been long known that ſugar could be made from the juice of this tree; but from the imperfect knowledge of the buſineſs of ſugar-making, the ſamples from this liquid were ſuch as promiſed no great expectations in future experiments: however the neceſſity which the people were under of making them or doing without ſugar, proved, that with care and proper management, it could be made equal to the fineſt ſugars of the Weſt Indies or Brazil. Some ſamples ſhewn to a ſugar refiner in Philadelphia (which aſtoniſhed him) produced ſeveral inſtructions in the art which occaſioned immediate ſucceſs.

The people began to treat the ſugar-trees more tenderly; and inſtead of chopping a large gap in their trunk, which had always been the practice, and which was ſufficient to deſtroy a leſs tender tree, the juice was found to ooze as effectually from an inciſion made with a ſcrew auger of ¼ of an inch diameter. But this was the ſmalleſt of the improvements. All the means made uſe of in the Weſt-Indies for the perfection of the art were ſoon aſcertained and practiſed: ſo that the country is not only equal to ſupply itſelf with ſugar, but might with increaſe of hands, ſupply the inhabitants of the globe.

The ſugar maple-tree not only grows in the greateſt abundance throughout this country, within the limits I have mentioned; but it is known to be the hardieſt, and the moſt difficult to deſtroy of all the trees in our foreſts (the beech not excepted) by the planters, who have a method of chopping or girdling the trunks of trees about one foot and a half above the ground, in order to kill them, and thereby they prevent their crops from being ſhaded.

It is known that old trees produce the moſt and the richeſt juice; and it is alſo known that trees which have been uſed for years are better than freſh trees. It is a common remark that whenever you ſee a black tree of this ſort, it is a ſure ſign it is a rich one. The blackneſs proceeds from the inciſions made in the bark by the pecking of the parroquet, and other birds, in the ſeaſon of the juice riſing, which oozing out, dribbles down its ſides and ſtains the bark, which in the progreſſion of time becomes black.

I have mentioned theſe particulars with a view to prevent your falling into the general error, that the reſource of making ſugar from the maple will ſoon be deſtroyed from the very nature of producing it; believing, as many do, that it is impoſſible for the tree to be able to bear the annual wounds which are neceſſary to be made in its trunk in order to draw off the juice; and that a few years muſt neceſſarily extirpate them; now, ſo far from there being any danger of that, experience has ſhewn that the longer they are uſed in a proper manner, the more plentiful and rich will be their juice to a certain age, which will be in proportion to the life of thoſe trees. No exact eſtimate can be made of that; but I conclude their decay is not earlier than other trees.

Both in the animal and vegetable world it has been obſerved that the exiſtence of life, according to the natural order of things, is in proportion to the period of time required to produce maturity. There are exceptions to this principle to be ſure; as the crane for inſtance, which ſeems to acquire maturity as early as moſt other birds, is known to live a century and upwards. However, it is very certain that the life of a ſugar maple, is as long as an oak, or any other tree.

If there is any analogy between animal and vegetable ſubſtances (and which there moſt certainly is), the increaſing plenty and richneſs of the juice from the uſe and age of the ſugar-tree, will it not be thought more extraordinary, than that the quantity of milk is greater and more rich produced from a cow which has been uſed for years, than from one which has been neglected or prevented from breeding annually.

The ſeaſon of tapping is moſtly about the middle of February, in Kentucky; but not until the latter end of the month, about Pittſburg, in the remote parts of Pennſylvania, on the head branches of the Suſquehana, and Delaware, and in the ſtate of New-York. Froſty mornings and bright ſunſhine are neceſſary to produce copious exudations. The ſeaſon continues in this climate about ſix weeks, when the juice is found to be too thin and poor to make ſugar; but it is ſtill capable of making molaſſes, ſpirits by diſtillation, vinegar, and an agreeable table beer.

The buſineſs of ſugar-making is moſtly managed by women and boys; the men generally having nothing more to do with it than to tap the trees, prepare the ſheds, and different apparatus. So that our aggricultural employments are very little obſtructed by this buſineſs, which produces ſo important an article for domeſtic uſes. The perfection to which we have brought our ſugars has induced many people in the upper parts of the States of New-

York and Pennſylvania to make a buſineſs of it during the ſeaſon of the juice running; and conſiderable quantities have been ſent to the markets of Philadelphia and York, not inferior to the beſt clayed, French, and Spaniſh ſugars.

The ſalt ſprings which have been found in the ſingle ſtate of Kentucky, under proper management, would be ſufficient to produce ſalt for all the inhabitants which the weſtern country could ſupport. There are at leaſt twelve of thoſe ſprings between Great Sandy and Cumberland; the principal of which are the upper and lower blue licks, on Licking creek; one on the Great-bone creek; one on Drimnon's lick creek, about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Kentucky; and Bullit's lick, on Salt river, 20 miles from the rapids of the Ohio. This ſpring is the firſt that was worked in the country. The firſt eſſays in this buſineſs were alſo imperfect, which, however, proceeded more from poverty than ignorance. The great principle by which the ſaline particles are chryſtalized, is univerſally known to be by the evaporation of the humid; and the greater the ſuperficial ſurface of that evaporation, the more rapidly the chryſtals will form. But the firſt ſettlers could not procure ſalt pans, and were obliged to uſe as a ſubſtitute the pots and kettles which they had brought out for domeſtic purpoſes.

Such was the commencement of making ſalt in this country; which, from its ſcarcity and high price, in ſome meaſure diſcouraged the ſettlement of the country. However, the great improvements ſince that æra have done away all thoſe fears, and ſalt is now manufactured in plenty, and ſold cheap.

The water is by no means ſo ſtrong as ſea water. It requires nearly four hundred gallons to make one buſhel of ſalt, which is more by one half than would be wanted of ſea-water to produce that quantity.

The water is not collected immediately from the ſpring. An area of from five to ten acres round thoſe ſprings is found to be impregnated with this mineral, ſo that by digging wells in any part of that ſpace ſalt water is diſcovered. From this circumſtance I am of opinion, that by digging pits a body of earth would be found ſtrongly impregnated with ſalt, from which the ſaline particles might be more eaſily ſeparated than from water; and it is certain, that if the water receives its particles of ſalt from the earth which it paſſes through, ſuch earth muſt contain a large proportion of ſalt, otherwiſe the ſtrength of the water would not be ſo conſiderable. However it will require ſome time to determine this matter, as the infancy of our country will not permit us to ſpeculate too largely in experiments which would be attended with heavy expences, were they not to prove ſucceſsful.

Salt ſprings have been found in every part of the weſtern country which has been well explored, and I have no doubt that time will prove that every part of it is well ſupplied with them. The manner by which they are moſtly found in uninhabited places is, by the large buffalo roads which lead to them. Whenever the ramification of thoſe roads begins to concentre, it is almoſt an infallible ſign that a ſalt lick is near. Thoſe animals reſorting to them throughout the temperate part of the year for the benefit of the ſalt, make large roads, which leading from the lick, branch different ways into the country.

We have various other minerals, ſuch as iron (which is the moſt uſeful), copper, lead, ſulphur, nitre, &c. &c. Iron ore is found in great plenty upon the northern branches of Licking creek, and likewiſe upon the waters of Green river. A lead mine has been worked many years with conſiderable profit, which lies in the county of Montgomery, upon the waters of the Great Kanhaway. There is another between the Cumberland and Tenaſee rivers which is ſaid to be very valuable, and its ore is more pure than any other which has been diſcovered in America. But the lead mine on the Miſſiſſippi muſt prove inexhauſtible. It extends from the mouth of Rock river more than one hundred miles upwards.

Beſides

Beſides theſe there are ſeveral others, ſome of which lie on the Spaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, and have been uſed for years paſt. Copper mines have been diſcovered in ſeveral places, but the mine on the Wabaſh is, perhaps, the richeſt vein of native copper in the bowels of the whole earth; and no doubt will render all the others of little or no value. Sulphur is found in ſeveral places in abundance; and nitre is made from earth which is collected from caves and other places to which the wet has not penetrated. The making this ſalt, in this country, is ſo common, that many of the ſettlers manufacture their own gunpowder. This earth is diſcovered in greater plenty on the waters of Green river, than it is in any other part of Kentucky. But, perhaps ſtill farther ſouthward, it will be found in greater plenty. However, it is ſo common in every part of the country that it might be made a conſiderable article for exportation. I have heard of black lead mines upon the head waters of the Kentucky, but I have not been able to procure any certain information reſpecting them. But I ſhould conceive that there can be little doubt that, when the country, and particularly the mountainous parts of it, are well explored, all the uſeful minerals will be found in abundance.

I have already mentioned the coal mines in the upper parts of the Ohio country; beſides which there are great quantities of coal upon the upper branches of the Miſſiſſippi. It is particularly favourable that this mineral lies at the heads of our larger rivers, as it can be ſent down with the greateſt facility; and it is very certain that the great body of it which the Ohio country alone contains, is equal to anſwer all the purpoſes for which it may be wanted throughout this extenſive empire.

Though the champaign part of this country has no ſtone on its ſurface, yet every where limeſtone is found from 6 to 15 feet below it. Moſt of the bottoms of our rivulets and ſtreams are paved with this ſtone. It is very eaſily calcined, when it becomes excellent lime. It is alſo convenient for building, by reaſon of its peculiar ſmoothneſs, and the eaſe with which it may be worked into any form. Beſides this ſtone, which is the moſt common, every other kind of ſtone is found which is either uſeful or ornamental, ſuch as flint, grindſtone, and millſtones, of a very good quality, which have been reckoned equal to French burrs. There is the greateſt plenty of marble upon the banks of the Kentucky, particularly at Leeſburg. I have not ſeen any which has been poliſhed; but judges in that buſineſs give us the moſt flattering ideas of its quality.

Clay is very common in every part of this country which is proper for bricks; and there is a ſuperior kind on the Beech fork of Salt river, which no doubt might be manufactured into good porcelian. Carver has mentioned a clay of this ſort which he ſaw above St. Anthony's falls. Marle, chalk, gypſum, and ochres, are found in various parts.

Mr. Jefferſon has deſcribed the medicinal, inflammable, bituminous, and other ſprings, very accurately; and as there have been no diſcoveries or light thrown upon the ſubject ſince he wrote, I ſhall refer you to his book for a particular account of them. Indeed, his account of the natural hiſtory of this country is generally to be depended upon, ſo that it is ſcarcely poſſible to make any improvements upon it, until farther diſcoveries ſhall have ariſen; I therefore confine myſelf to ſuch objects as he has not taken notice of, and to ſuch as have preſented themſelves ſince he wrote, occaſionally making ſome ſtrictures and animadverſions upon his opinions and information.

I have obſerved that the climate of this country is various. But, as climate is frequently different in the ſame parallels of latitude, I will endeavour to give you ſome idea of the difference between the climate on the upper parts of the Ohio, Pennſylvania, and Maryland, of Kentucky and Virginia, and of Cumberland and North Carolina, which lie in nearly the ſame parallels one with another.

It is well known that the climate upon the Atlantic coaſt of America is in the extreme of heat and cold, and that it is more variable than when it was firſt ſettled by Europeans; but the winters are milder. The extremes proceed no doubt from the immenſe continent, which lies to the north-weſt, and which is interſperſed with freſh water lakes. The rarified air of the torrid zone ruſhing in currents through the upper regions to the Arctic circle, leaves a vacancy for the cold air, which, in ſupplying its place, cauſes thoſe frequent chills or variations in the ſpring and autumn, and alternate froſt, rain, and mild weather in winter, which are ſo common in the middle parts of that country. The cold is more ſteady to the north of Hudſon's river; but the power of the ſun to the ſouth of 41°, by counteracting the influence of the northern winds, occaſions thoſe ſudden changes from heat to cold. Opening the country has greatly tended already to leſſen the cold, by conſequence of the greater power of the ſun upon the earth; and a general cultivation, by producing a warmer atmoſphere, through which the north wind paſſes, muſt tend to moderate the climate generally upon the Atlantic ſea.

The greateſt part of Pennſylvania which lies between latitude 41° and 39° 40′ ſhould, from its ſituation upon the globe, be a very excellent climate; and no doubt in time it will.

At preſent it is too ſubject to extremes; and by the too frequent and violent bracing, and ſudden relaxation of the animal ſyſtem, the elaſticity of the nerves is injured, and thus the marks of age are viſible at an earlier period in ſome parts of America than in others.

Farther ſouthward the cold is leſs; but as the heat is proportionally greater, the extremes are much the ſame quite to South Carolina. As you approach the ridge of mountains which run through America from north to ſouth, the inhabitants look more healthy, which is the conſequence of the climate being more temperate and ſteady.

The country on the upper parts of the Ohio, and between Pittſburg and Lake Erie, is conſiderably colder than Pennſylvania and Maryland, which no doubt is occaſioned, in a great degree, in the former, from its proximity to the mountains; but in a greater degree, in both, from the country around them being a continual foreſt.

When you arrive in Kentucky you experience a greater temperature of air than in any country I have ever travelled in, Farenheit's thermometer ſeldom falling below 35 deg. in winter, nor riſing above 80 in ſummer. The approach of the ſeaſons is gradual. The ſummer continues moſtly to the middle of October. The autumn, or mild weather, generally continues until Chriſtmas, when we have ſome cold and froſt until February; when ſpring approaches, and by the beginning of March ſeveral ſhrubs and trees begin to ſhoot forth their buds; by the middle of the month, the buck-eye, or horſe cheſnut is clad in its ſummer's livery; and by the middle of April the foilage of the foreſts is completely expanded: which is a fortnight earlier than the leaves are ſhot in Virginia and Maryland. Cumberland is proportionally more temperate than North Carolina, as Kentucky is to Virginia.

The rarefied air from the ſouthern regions, muſt be more conſiderable from that tract or ſpace of the globe covered by ſalt water than from the countries covered with foreſts.—Now, as almoſt all America may be conſidered as one foreſt, it appears to me that the vacancy occaſioned by rarefication in ſouthern latitudes muſt be greater in the regions of air, both over the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, than upon the continent; and that the cold air from the polar circle ruſhes both to the S.E. & S.W. and conſequently the middle parts of our continent muſt be leſs ſubject to cold and variation, by being more out of the courſe of the cold winds, than the countries either upon the Atlantic or Pacific ſea-coaſts.

How far this theory may prove ſatisfactory, I can form no idea. If it is unphiloſophical, I hope you will treat it accordingly; it is the only way that I can account for the very great difference between the climate of this country, and that of Virginia.

Another cauſe for our greater temperature in ſummer is, doubtleſs, owing to our lying ſo much higher. It is one continual but gradual riſe from Richmond for 200 miles back. There are ſeveral riſings and fallings afterwards, and ſeveral mountains in the wilderneſs; but I have always obſerved that the riſe from the eaſt to their ſummits was greater than the deſcent weſt, to their baſe, which makes the elevation of Kentucky conſiderably above that of Virginia. Beſides Kentucky has no marſhes or bogs, which are very conſiderable in the lower parts of Virginia, and the exhaled vapours from them produce deleterious air which appears hotter than it really is.

Mr. Jefferſon's table of average heat and cold for the different months, made from the obſervations of five ſucceſſive years, though it furniſhed him with a data to eſtimate theoretically the climate of Virginia, can afford you no idea of its temperature. Perhaps in ſome of thoſe years, the mercury was below 0 during the winter. But when he has ſtated the leaſt and greateſt daily heat by Farenheit's thermometer for January to be from 38½° to 44° you can have no conception that there can be any froſt in Virginia. I do not mean to ſay that it is common for the mercury to fall below 0 in that country, but I mean to be underſtood that froſt is very frequent there, and that by taking the average of the greateſt heat and the greateſt cold, when the extremes are ſo great as they are in Virginia, it is impoſſible for a ſtranger to form a juſt idea of its climate.—Mr. Jefferſon allows that the extremes are very conſiderable, and that the mercury has been known to deſcend from 92 deg. to 47 in thirteen hours.

A journey to the Illinois will prevent me from writing you again as ſoon as I could wiſh; but I ſhall ever remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is natural, I think, that you ſhould expect by this time ſome account of the inhabitants, their manner of living, the mode ſettling the country, the routes, diſtance, and mode of travelling to it, with ſome information reſpecting religion and political ſentiments, and the ſocial pleaſures of the people; all of which, I am afraid, will require too much time for a letter, and therefore I beg that you will be content to receive the information in the deſultory manner in which I ſhall be enabled to ſend it.

In ſome of my firſt letters I gave you an account of the firſt ſettlement of this country. The perturbed ſtate of that period, and the ſavage ſtate of the country, which was one entire wilderneſs, made the object of the firſt emigrants that of ſecurity and ſuſtenance, which produced the ſcheme of ſeveral families living together in what were called Stations. Theſe ſtations were a kind of quadrangular, or ſometimes oblong forts, formed by building log-houſes connectedly, only leaving openings for gate-ways to paſs as they might have occaſion. They were generally fixed in a favourable ſituation for water, and in a body of good land. Frequently the head of ſome party of connections who had a ſettlement and preemption right, ſeized upon theſe opportunities to have his land cleared, which was neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſtation; for, it was not only prudent to keep cloſe in their forts at times, but it was alſo neceſſary to keep their horſes and cows up, otherwiſe the Indians would carry off the horſes, and ſhoot and deſtroy the cattle.

Under ſuch circumſtances, the firſt ſettlement of Kentucky was formed, which ſoon opened a conſiderable quantity of land in the county of Lincoln, which lies in the upper part of the ſtate, and contiguous to the wilderneſs, which ends in this delectable region.

As the country gained ſtrength, the ſtations began to break up in that part of the country, and their inhabitants to ſpread themſelves, and ſettle upon their reſpective eſtates. But the embarraſſment they were in for moſt of the conveniences of life, did not admit of their building any other houſes but of logs, and of opening fields in the moſt expeditious way for planting the Indian corn; the only grain which was cultivated at that time.

A log-houſe is very ſoon erected, and in conſequence of the friendly diſpoſition which exiſts among thoſe hoſpitable people, every neighbour flew to the aſſiſtance of each other upon occaſions of emergencies. Sometimes they were built of round logs entirely, covered with rived aſh ſhingles, and the interſtices ſtopped with clay, or lime and ſand, to keep out the weather. The next object was to open the land for cultivation. There is very little under-wood in any part of this country, ſo that by cutting up the cane, and girdling the trees, you are ſure of a crop of corn. The fertility of the ſoil amply repays the labourer for his toil; for if the large trees are not very numerous, and a large proportion of them the ſugar maple, it is very likely from this imperfect cultivation, that the ground will yield from 50 to 60 buſhel of corn to the acre. The ſecond crop will be more ample; and as the ſhade is removed by cutting the timber away, great part of our land will produce from ſeventy to one hundred buſhels of corn from an acre. This extraordinary fertility enables the farmer who has but a ſmall capital to increaſe his wealth in a moſt rapid manner (I mean by wealth the comforts of life.) His cattle and hogs will find ſufficient food in the woods, not only for them to ſubſiſt upon, but to fatten them. His horſes want no provender the greateſt part of the year except cane and wild clover; but he may afford to feed them with corn the ſecond year. His garden, with little attention, produces him all the culinary roots and vegetables neceſſary for his table; and the prolific increaſe of his hogs and poultry, will furniſh him the ſecond year, without fearing to injure his ſtock, with a plenty of animal food; and in three or four years his flock of cattle and ſheep will prove ſufficient to ſupply him with both beef and mutton; and he may continue his plan at the ſame time of increaſing his ſtock of thoſe uſeful animals. By the fourth year, provided he is induſtrious, he may have his plantation in ſufficient good order to build a better houſe, which he can do either of ſtone, brick, or a framed wooden building, the principle articles of which will coſt him little more than the labour of himſelf and domeſtics; and he may readily barter or ſell ſome part of the ſuperfluous productions of his farm, which it will by this time afford, and procure ſuch things as he may ſtand in need of for the completion of his building. Apples, peaches, pears, &c. &c. he ought to plant when he finds a ſoil or eligible ſituation to place them in, as that will not hinder, or in any degree divert, him from the object of his aggrandizement.—I have taken no notice of the game he might kill, as it is more a ſacrifice of time to an induſtrious man than any real advantage.

Such has been the progreſs of the ſettlement

of

of this country, from dirty ſtations or forts, and ſmoaky huts, that it has expanded into fertile fields, bluſhing orchards, pleaſant gardens, luxuriant ſugar groves, neat and commodious houſes, riſing villages, and trading towns. Ten years have produced a difference in the population and comforts of this country, which to be pourtrayed in juſt colours would appear marvellous. To have implicit faith or belief that ſuch things have happened, it is firſt neceſſary to be (as I have been) a ſpectator of ſuch events.

Emigrations to this country were moſtly from the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennſylvania, and North Carolina, until 1784: in which year many officers who had ſerved in the American army during the late war came out with their families; ſeveral families came alſo from England, Philadelphia, New Jerſey, York, and the New England States. The country ſoon began to be chequered after that æra with genteel men, which operated both upon the minds and actions of the back woods people, who conſtituted the firſt emigrants. A taſte for the decorum and elegance of the table was ſoon cultivated; the peaſures of gardening were conſidered not only as uſeful but amuſing. Theſe improvements in the comforts of living and manners, awakened a ſenſe of ambition to inſtruct their youth in uſeful and accompliſhed arts. Social pleaſures were regarded as the moſt ineſtimable of human poſſeſſions—the genius of friendſhip appeared to foſter the emanations of virtue, while the cordial regard, and ſincere deſire of pleaſing produced the moſt harmonizing effects. Sympathy was regarded as the eſſence of the human ſoul, participating of celeſtial matter, and as a ſpark engendered to warm our benevolence and lead to the raptures of love and rational felicity.

With ſuch ſentiments our amuſements flow from the interchange of civilities, and a reciprocal deſire of pleaſing. That ſameneſs may not cloy, and make us dull, we vary the ſcene as the nature of circumſtances will permit.—The opening ſpring brings with it the proſpect of our ſummer's labour, and the brilliant ſun actively warms into life the vegetable world, which blooms and yields a profuſion of aromatic odours. A creation of beauty is now a feaſt of joy, and to look for amuſements beyond this genial torrent of ſweets, would be a perverſion of nature, and a ſacrilege againſt heaven.

The ſeaſon of ſugar making occupies the women, whoſe mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking bird, the tuneful ſong of the thruſh, and the gaudy plumage of the parroquet.—Feſtive mirth crowns the evening.—The buſineſs of the day being over, the men join the women in the ſugar groves where inchantment ſeems to dwell.

—The lofty trees wave their ſpreading branches over a green turf, on whoſe ſoft down the mildneſs of the evening invites the neighbouring youth to ſportive play; while our rural Neſtors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyiſh gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age; and in their enthuſiaſm forget there are ſuch things as decrepitude and miſery. Perhaps a convivial ſong or a pleaſant narration cloſes the ſcene.

Rational pleaſures meliorate the ſoul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that ſordid avarice and vicious habits are to be deſtroyed.

Gardening and fiſhing conſtitute ſome part of the amuſements of both ſexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the ſtudies of our ladies; and the embelliſhment of their houſes with thoſe which are known to be ſalutary, conſtitute a part of their employment.—Domeſtic cares and muſic fill up the remainder of the day, and ſocial viſits without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or diſguſt.—Our young men are too gallant to permit the women to have ſeparate amuſements, and thus it is that we find that ſuavity and politeneſs of manners univerſal, which can only be effected by feminine poliſh.

The autumn and winter produces not leſs pleaſure. Evening viſits moſtly end with dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or diſſeminate information in the diſquiſition of politics or ſome uſeful art or ſcience.

Such are the amuſements of this country, which have for their baſis hoſpitality, and all the variety of good things which a luxuriant ſoil is capable of producing, without the alloy of that diſtreſs or miſery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn and the juice of the ſugar tree mixed with water, conſtitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drank prodigally; but that is a fortunate circumſtance, as it will be an additional ſpur to us to cultivate the vine.

The routes from the different Atlantic States to this country are various, as may be ſuppoſed. From the northern States it is through the upper parts of Pennſylvania to Pittſburg, and then down the river Ohio.—The diſtance from Philadelphia to Pittſburg is nearly three hundred miles. From Lancaſter about two hundred and thirty. The route through Redſtone and by Pittſburg, both from Maryland and Virginia, is the moſt eligible, provided you have much baggage; except you go from the ſouthern and back counties of Virginia; then your beſt and moſt expeditious way is through the wilderneſs.—From Baltimore, paſſing Old Town upon the

Potowmac, and by Cumberland Fort, Braddock's road, to Redſtone Old Fort on the Monongahala, is about two hundred and forty miles; and from Alexandria to the ſame place, by Wincheſter Old Town, and then the ſame route acroſs the mountain, is about two hundred and twenty miles. This laſt muſt be the moſt eligible for all Europeans who may wiſh to travel to this country, as the diſtance by land is ſhorter, the roads better, and the accommodations good; *i. e.* they are very good to Old Town, which is one hundred and forty miles from Alexandria, and from thence to Redſtone comfortable, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of all ſorts: the road over the mountain is rather rough, but no where in the leaſt difficult to paſs.

Travellers or emigrants take different methods of tranſporting their baggage, goods, or furniture from the places they may be at to the Ohio, according to circumſtances, or their object in coming to the country. For, inſtance, if a man is travelling only for curioſity, or has no family or goods to remove, his beſt way would be to purchaſe horſes, and take his route through the Wilderneſs; but provided he has a family, or goods of any ſort to remove, his beſt way, then, would be to purchaſe a waggon and team of horſes to carry his property to Redſtone Old Fort, or to Pittſburg, according as he may come from the northern or ſouthern States. A good waggon will coſt at Philadelphia about 10l. (I ſhall reckon every thing in ſterling money for your greater convenience) and the horſes about 12l. each; they would coſt ſomething more at Baltimore and Alexandria. The waggon may be covered with canvas, and if it is the choice of the people, they may ſleep in it at nights with the greateſt ſafety. But if they ſhould diſlike that, there are inns of accommodation the whole diſtance on the different roads. To allow the horſes a plenty of hay and corn would coſt about 1s. *per diem*, each horſe; ſuppoſing you purchaſe your forage in the moſt œconomical manner, *i. e.* of the farmers, as you paſs along, from time to time as you may want it, and carry it in your waggon; and not of inn-keepers, who muſt have their profits. The proviſions for the family I would purchaſe in the ſame manner; and by having two or three camp kettles, and ſtopping every evening when the weather is fine upon the brink of ſome rivulet, and by kindling a fire they may ſoon dreſs their food. There is no impediment to theſe kind of things, it is common and may be done with the greateſt ſecurity; and I would recommend all perſons who wiſh to avoid expence as much as poſſible to adopt this plan. True, the charges at inns on thoſe roads are remarkably reaſonable, but I have mentioned thoſe particulars as there are many unfortunate people in the world, to whom the ſaving of every ſhilling is an object, and as this manner of journeying is ſo far from being diſagreeable, that in a fine ſeaſon it is extremely pleaſant.

Proviſions in thoſe countries are very cheap, beef, mutton, and pork, are ſomething leſs than 2d. per lb.; dunghill fowls are from 4d. to 6d. each; duck, 8d.; geeſe and turkeys, 1s. 3d.; butter, 5d.; cheeſe, I will ſay nothing about, as there is very little good until you arrive in Kentucky. Flour is about 14s. 6d. per cwt.

The beſt way is to carry their tea and coffee from the place they may ſet out at; good green tea will be from 4s. 6d. to 6s per lb.; ſouchong from 3s. to 5s.; coffee will coſt from 1s. 3d to 1s. 6d. per lb.; loaf ſugar from 7½d. to 10½d. But I would not recommend their carrying much ſugar, for as the back country is approached, the maple ſugar is in abundance, and may be bought from 4d. to 6d. per lb. Such are the expences to be incurred travelling to this country by Redſtone and Pittſburg.

The diſtance which one of thoſe waggons may travel one day with another is little ſhort of twenty miles. So that it will be a journey from Alexandria to Redſtone Old Fort of eleven or twelve days, from Baltimore a day or two longer, and from Philadelphia to Pittſburg I ſhould ſuppoſe it would require nearly twenty days; as the roads are not ſo good as from the two former places.

From theſe prices the expence of removing a family, from either of the ſea ports I have mentioned to the Ohio, may be computed with tolerable exactitude.

The beſt time for ſetting out for this country from any of the Atlantic ports, is the latter end of either September or April. The autumn is the moſt eligible of the two; as it is moſt likely that the roads acroſs the mountain will be drier, and proviſions and forage are then both more plentiful and cheap than in the ſpring.

If this mode ſhould not ſuit the convenience of the party, by reaſon of their not wanting a waggon or horſes when they arrive in this country, they may have their goods brought out to Redſtone Old Fort from Alexandria for 15s. per cwt. and in like proportion from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

At Redſtone Old Fort, or Pittſburg, they can either buy a boat, which will coſt them about 5s. per ton, or freight their goods to Kentucky for about 1s. per cwt. There is no regular buſineſs of this ſort; but as there are always boats coming down the river, 1s. per cwt. is the common charge for freight. But more frequently when there is boat room to ſpare, it is given to ſuch as are not able to purchaſe a boat, or have not a knowledge of the navigation. However, that is a buſineſs which requires no ſkill, and there are always numbers of people coming down, who will readily conduct a boat for the ſake of a paſſage.

The diſtance from Philadelphia by land to Kentucky is between ſeven and eight hundred miles; from Baltimore nearly ſeven hundred; nearly ſix hundred from Alexandria; and upwards of five hundred from Richmond. The roads and accommodations are tolerably good to the borders of the Wilderneſs; through which it is hardly poſſible for a carriage to paſs, great part of the way being over high and ſteep hills, upon the banks of the rivers and along defiles, which in ſome places ſeem to threaten you at every ſtep with danger. This is the only route the people coming from the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina can take at preſent to get into the country; the gap of Cumberland mountain being the only place it can be paſſed without the greateſt difficulty. The opening the Tenaſee will afford a convenient communication with the Miſſiſſippi. The Wilderneſs, which was formermerly two hundred miles through, without a ſingle habitation, is reduced from the ſettlement of Powel's Valley, to nearly one half of that diſtance; and it is to be expected that in a few years more that the remainder of the diſtance will afford ſettlements for the accommodation of people travelling that route; when a good road may be made quite to Kentucky. The canals I have ſpoken of which are cutting on the Potowmac, and the removal of the obſtructions in Cheat river, will render the paſſage from Alexandria, or the federal city to the Ohio, both cheap and eaſy.

Upon the arrival of emigrants in the country they generally take a view of that part which it is their object to ſettle in, and according to their circumſtances, or calling, fix upon ſuch a ſituation as may appear eligible for their buſineſs. But as the greater proportion of the emigrants who come to this country are huſbandmen I ſhall only take notice of their manner of proceeding and ſettling a farm. Land is to be purchaſed in every part of the country; the prices are various according to the improvements there may be upon it, its quality, and local ſituation; the general price of land with ſome improvements is from 15s. to 25s. per acre. Plantations with orchards and other improvements, may be purchaſed from 1l. to 1l. 5s. per acre; good land without improvements may be purchaſed from 12s. to 18s. per ditto, which price will be according to its rate or quality and ſituation.

Remember, I take notice only of the ſettled country, as I apprehend no European would be hardy enough to form a ſettlement in a wilderneſs, which will be left for the Americans, who, no doubt, from habit, are beſt qualified for that ſort of buſineſs. Indeed there is a number of people who have ſo long been in the cuſtom of removing farther and farther back as the country becomes ſettled, for the ſake of hunting, and what they call range for their cattle, which is that of their feeding upon the natural graſs, that they ſeem unqualified for any other kind of life. This is favourable to the ſettling a wild and infant country; and no doubt this diſpoſition will laſt (with ſome) as long as there is left a wilderneſs in America. It is however certain, this is advantageous to ſociety which will be bettered, and not injured by theſe peculiar habits, ſo long as they have new countries to people: for, this adventurous ſpirit tends to accelerate the propagation of domeſtic animals of every ſort.

Perſons of moderate fortune, upon taking poſſeſſion of the land they intend to form into a plantation, procure ſuch ſtock as their circumſtances and the extent of their object will admit of. Let us ſuppoſe an induſtrious man already provided with the neceſſary tools for his agricultural employment, and a little money to buy ſtock. In ſuch a ſituation (after building his houſe in the manner I have mentioned, which will coſt him little more than the labour) he ſhould procure ſome dunghill fowls, a cow and a breeding ſow. The fowls will produce eggs for his family, the cow milk and butter, if ſhe is well taken care of; and the ſow will produce two, if not three, litters of pigs within the year. Theſe animals are very prolific in this climate and ſoil; and it is not a ſanguine calculation to ſuppoſe the ſow will have eight or ten pigs at each litter; by which means the family will have pork ſufficient for the next year; and the year after they may barter bacon for beef and mutton, which I will conclude their circumſtances have not permitted them, as yet, to purchaſe. His labour will have provided him with corn before this time, and in the extenſion of his plantation, and the increaſe of his cow and hogs his difficulties will be over, and a few years of induſtry and perſeverance will make him a man of property. The increaſing ratio of ſtock is prodigious, where proviſion for them coſts ſo little as it does here, and where the fertility of the ſoil is ſo wonderful. His fowls will coſt about three-pence each, his breeding ſow about five ſhillings, and his cow, if a very good one, of 4 cwt. and upwards, will coſt him from thirty to forty ſhillings.

I have hitherto ſuppoſed this induſtrious man not in circumſtances to enable him to uſe horſes and plough, but obliged to hoe his corn; the only difficulty of which will be the preparing the ground for the ſeed. According

ing to this imperfect cultivation I will conclude that his crop of corn will not be more than 30 buſhels to the acre. Now an induſtrious man making a ſettlement in the autumn would be able to open three acres of land (in the manner I have related) before the time of planting, which will be in April or May; indeed, as late as June will anſwer; ſo that he may take advantage of this favourable circumſtance, and, by planting at different periods, he will be better enabled to cultivate his crop, as it will not all require his attendance at the ſame time. Allowing half an acre for vegetables and pulſe, and the yield of his labour will be 75 buſhels of corn. Admitting then that he has a wife and two children, I will allow one half of this corn for their year's ſupport, which, with the animal food his flock will afford him, and vegetables, will conſtitute a comfortable living. The other half he may ſell, and purchaſe thoſe artificial neceſſaries his family may want. The ſecond autumn and winter he may open two acres more, and put the other three into better condition; one of which ſhould be ſown with flax or hemp-ſeed, in order to give employment to his wife, and to provide linen for domeſtic uſes. His crop of corn, the ſecond year, with the extended and improved cultivation, will not be ſhort of 125 buſhels. The ſurplus quantity of this year's crop will go a great way towards purchaſing a horſe and plough; and as the third crop will be more ample, he will then find himſelf comfortable and independent. I have all along ſuppoſed this farmer to have made prompt payment for every thing which he has wanted, which is ſeldom aſked from an induſtrious man who is anxious to provide for his family. Such a man may not only have credit for horſes and cattle, but even for the land; and, in a very little time, with induſtry, he may pay the whole off. I have taken no notice of the taxes which he will have to pay, as it is moſt likely they would not, altogether, amount to five ſhillings.

Proviſions of every ſort are both plenty and cheap in this country. Flour is from 6s. to 9s. per cwt. according to its quality. Indian corn is from 9d. to 1s. per buſhel. Beef is from 1d. 1-2 to 2d. per lb. Veal, 2d. 1-2 per ditto. Mutton, 3d. ditto; which high price is owing to the general deſire the farmers have to increaſe their flocks. Pork is from 2d. to 2d. 1-2 per lb. Bacon hams, from 4d. to 5d. do. Salt beef, 2d. Hung or dried beef, 3d. Neat's tongues, 6d. each. Buffalo ditto, which are a moſt delicious morſel, 9d. Dunghill fowls, ducks, Muſcovy ditto, geeſe, turkeys, Guinea fowls, and pigeons, are proportionally cheap. Butter is from 2d. 1-2 to 3d. 1-2 per lb. Cheeſe from 2d. to 3d. per ditto.

We have a variety of fiſh in our rivers: the moſt eſteemed of which are the perch, trout, buffalo fiſh, and ſoft turtle. The perch is in ſize from 5 to 12lb. is firm and fat in its ſeaſon, which is from February until July, and is equal to any ſalt water fiſh I ever taſted. The trout is caught from 8 to 30lb. weight. This fiſh is too univerſally known and admired to require any account of its excellence, particularly as the trout in England is ſaid to be the exact miniature of ours. The buffalo fiſh is in ſize from 4 to 8lb. is a very fine fiſh, but inferior to the two former. But the ſoft turtle is, perhaps, the moſt delicious fiſh in the world, and amply compenſates for our having no other teſtaceous fiſh. This turtle is gelatinous, except a ſmall ſhell upon its back, about the bigneſs of the palm of the hand. The weight is from 6 to 10lb.

Moſt people make their own ſugar; but when it is ſold, the price is from 3d. to 4d. ſter. per lb. according to its fineneſs. The buſineſs of ſugar refining is only commencing, which makes it impoſſible to ſay exactly what will be the general price of loaf or refined ſugar; but I conclude it will be proportionally low with raw ſugar, as the buſineſs can be carried on in this country at leſs expence than in Philadelphia and York, where the price of the neceſſaries of life is ſo much higher. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and ſpices, are ſomething higher,

higher here than in Philadelphia. Good green tea is from 5 to 8s. per lb. Imperial or gunpowder, 10s. 6d. Pearl and ſouchong from 12s to 16s. Good ſouchong from 4s. 6d. to 7s. per ditto. Bohea, from 1s. to 3s. 6d. Coffee, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. Chocolate, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. Spices are moſtly 25 per cent. higher than they are at Philadelphia or Baltimore.

I have entered into ſeveral minutiæ, in order that you may have a more clear idea of the people and ſituation of this country. I have not aimed ſo much at being agreeable, as to convey information.

In a country in the zenith of the perfection of arts, and one juſt removing the ſhade of ſavage wildneſs, the contraſt appears, I know, greater to an European than it really is. We have more of ſimplicity, and you more of art. We have more of nature, and you more of the world. Nature formed our features and intellects very much alike; but while you have metamorphoſed the one, and contaminated the other, we preſerve the natural ſymbols of both. You have more hypocriſy; we are ſincere. You are more cunning and adroit, which your laws and habits have rendered part of your natures. We are not ſo ſtupid as not to ſee through the veil; but when an European does us the honour to viſit us, we have both too much hoſpitality and ſuavity of manners to inform them they have neither ſentiments nor religion. A few years reſidence with us teaches them that important truth, and ſelf-conviction is always the moſt laſting.

However, a delineation of the laws, and ſubſtance of the opinions, which our new code will contain, will give you a better conception of our moral and political ſentiments, and their probable duration; and with hopes that an early opportunity will preſent itſelf to forward my letter upon that ſubject, I ſhall take my leave of you for the preſent, my dear friend, with wiſhing you every poſſible felicity. Farewell.

I am,

With the utmoſt regard and eſteem,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OUR laws and government have for their baſis the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man. Liberty, ſecurity of perſon and property, reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion, doing whatever does not injure another, a right to concur, either perſonally or by our repreſentatives in the formation of laws, and an equal chance of arriving to places of honour, reward, or employment, according to our virtues or talents, conſtitute theſe rights. Theſe are the principles of our conſtitution; and laws grafted upon theſe ſimple but ſubſtantial principles, and a ſyſtem of legal juriſprudence organized, and acting accordingly, form the eſſence of our government. Whenever the government ſwerves materially from theſe fundamental principles, the compact is diſſolved, and things revert to a co-equal ſtate. Thus by this plain definition of the nature of laws and government, every capacity, and every individual of the community, can judge with preciſion of the purity of legiſlation; which produces the moſt entire conviction in the minds of all men, of the neceſſity there is of acting in every inſtance according to the code of reaſon and truth. Every man is equally concerned in the welfare and proſperity of his country; his own felicity can only be co-exiſtent with it; and to ſuffer his ambition to run counter to the general weal would be madneſs in an enlightened commonwealth, as it could only tend to produce his own eternal diſgrace or ruin, where the genius of freedom is enthroned in the heart of every citizen.

Europe has long been enſlaved by forms and authorities; and, while its multifarious laws and cuſtoms have ſerved only to perplex profeſſional men, the ſophiſtry employed in expounding them has completely bewildered the imaginations of its citizens, and produced an obſcurity of ideas upon the ſubject of juriſprudence and government, which is truly deplorable. There is an old adage which ſays, "That too much learning makes a man a fool." The pandects, and civil law, added to the barbarous codes of the anceſtors of men in your hemiſphere, have tended not a little to embarraſs the minds of men; for after a life devoted to the ſtudy and inveſtigation of abſurdity, the miſerable ſtudent has generally found one foot in the grave before he has been able to discover the impoſſibility of obtaining the object of his purſuit.

Religion, or what you call an eſtabliſhment, has had its ſhare in rivetting the fetters of ignorance. The elucidation of truth has been retarded by the tyranny of the church; for while people durſt not uſe their judgment of religion, *morals, ſentiments and politics*, their intellectual views have been the reſult of their flattering that government, whoſe intereſt it was to keep the people ignorant, as it ſecured to them the undiſturbed diviſion of the ſpoils of the induſtry of the great bulk of your citizens, while they were offering an indignity as groſs to the Deity as their ſyſtem was unnatural and unjuſt. What can be a greater ſupererogation, than preſuming to arraign or judge of the ſentiments of men, the propriety of which are to be determined before a tribunal in heaven? It is an inſult too groſs to merit a comment. It has been ſubverſive of all good morals, by affording a veil to cover the hypocriſy of the moſt deſigning knaves.

You muſt excuſe this digreſſion; I have made it for a ſubject of reflection for you, that your mind may be prepared to judge impartially of a ſyſtem ſo very ſimple, as that upon which the fabric of our government acts. It was firſt neceſſary to ſhew the cauſe which has produced that myſtery which you reverence as wiſdom, but which is abſolutely founded in perplexity of opinion and ignorance; or to give you a clue to reflections which would develope the fallacy.

Every man who is rated in taxes, has a vote in the appointment of the repreſentatives of the State; which conſiſt of two bodies, i. e. the houſe of delegates and the ſenate, who chuſe a Preſident, or Governor, for one year, which Governor chuſes his own council to adviſe with him in all public matters. It is not immediately neceſſary that the legiſlature ſhould approve of his appointments; but to prevent the poſſibility of the exerciſe of predilection and conſequently, they have reſerved to themſelves the privilege of objecting to ſuch characters for his adviſers who have not the public approbation; which has the good effect of producing harmony between the government and the people—of obliging men who aſpire to the honours of their country to reſpect the public opinion; and it prevents the proſtitution of principle, by interdicting the pernicious conſequences of favouritiſm; while no ill can flow from this negative, as it is not to be preſumed that the collected ſentiments of a whole ſtate can ever be prejudiced againſt an individual; and it is impoſſible for the minds of the legiſlature to be warped againſt their Preſident, without ſufficient grounds. The very idea is an abſurdity in reaſon.

Mr. Jefferſon, ſpeaking of the government of Virginia, complains, that the ſenate by its conſtitution is too homogeneous with the houſe of delegates (our ſenate is elected and conſtituted in the ſame manner as the ſenate of Virginia), becauſe they are choſen by the ſame electors, at the ſame time, and out of the ſame citizens; and therefore he ſays the choice falls upon the ſame deſcription of men. It is not exactly thus, though it is liable to be ſo. The manner of nominating the repreſentatives of every county ſhould be as general as poſſible. Government is a compact entered into by every community for the ſecurity of the happineſs and proſperity of the State; every member of which is one of the aggregate body of that State; therefore laws ought to emanate from the ſentiments of the people.

The wiſdom of having two houſes of repreſentatives is, that they may be a mutual check upon each other; and it is expected that the experience and collected wiſdom of the ſenate, who are a leſs active body than the houſe of delegates, will more maturely weigh the probable conſequences of any act, and prevent, by their ſuſpenſion, any pernicious effects which might reſult from its paſſing into a law; or, by giving time to the houſe of aſſembly, they may correct their own errors.

If the ſenate has not always been choſen of men of the greateſt experience, it has no doubt originated from the ignorance of its political inſtitution; but that is no argument againſt the policy of the ſyſtem. It requires time for every government to acquire its proper tone, and the people muſt become familiar with that tone, before they can make a proper uſe of the inſtrument. At any rate, Mr. Jefferſon's opinion appears to me premature; for if it is neceſſary to have two houſes of repreſentatives, clearly they ought to be elected by the people. As to their being elected at the ſame time, and from the ſame deſcription of men, this can ſignify very little, as it adds to the number of repreſentatives, and conſequently there is a more general conſent to the legiſlation. However, our ſenate will be choſen for three years, and the houſe of delegates will be elected annually; and it appears to me, that the people will not only ſoon diſcover the object of its political inſtitution, but will carry it into effect. They have only to diſcover the wiſdom of chuſing men of experience for the ſenate, to make it a general practice; and it moſt certainly is better to have the ſyſtem thus open, than by confining the eligibility of a ſenator to the reſtriction of a particular age, as that would not only be an incroachment upon the liberties of the citizens, but it would frequently deprive us of the exerciſe of uſeful and ſplendid talents, which might have an opportunity of obtaining a ſeat in the ſenate, when he could not in the houſe of delegates by conſequence of the greater popularity of the delegates of the diſtrict or county to which he might belong.

The Preſident of the State is choſen annually, and eligible for three ſucceſſive years; after which he muſt remain out of office three years before he can become again eligible. He has a negative voice upon all acts, in conſequence of which every uſurpation is prevented from being ſurreptitiouſly practiſed upon the people by the two houſes of aſſembly; and thus a check is given to any inconſiderate ſtep or impetuoſity of the legiſlature, until the ſenſe of the people can be made known, and meaſures taken accordingly. The Preſident is beſides, the guardian of the police of the ſtate, has the power with the advice of his council, to pardon criminals, and by proclamation governs or corrects the influence of all extraneous caſes.

Such is the organization of our legiſlative power, which originated from a convention of the people, and may be altered, improved, or amended, by another convention of the ſame kind, whenever its practice proves its imperfection or deficiency. Thus it is, that in the progreſſion of philoſophy and politics, as well as in arts, and the appropriation of experimental truths, the perfection of government is to be aſcertained.

All the powers of government revert to the people, and they ought to revert to them. The judiciary having been reſerved to them through the medium of juries. The legiſlative they intruſt to their repreſentatives who are eſſentially the ſame; and the executive emanates from the legiſlature, ſo that the whole are ultimately reſponſible to the people. The executive to the repreſentatives, and the repreſentatives to their conſtituents.

Such is the influence of education and habit that Mr Jefferſon, who has given every poſſible proof of his attachment to liberty, although educated when ariſtocratical opinions were common, ſays this is “ preciſely the definition of deſpotic government,” and he adds, “ that it can prove no alleviation that the powers will be exerciſed by a plurality of hands and not by a ſingle one,” and then he triumphantly begs, “ thoſe who doubt it, to turn their eyes on the Republic of Venice.” When he wrote this part of his notes, he ſeems to have been of the opinion of Mr. Burke (whoſe paradoxical book has found its way out here), when he remarked “ that government was a contrivance of human wiſdom.” Otherwiſe I am at a loſs to conceive how he could compare a government acting upon the unalienable privileges, and the light of reaſon, to a dark ariſtocracy which has rivetted upon the minds of their citizens the moſt diabolical ſuperſtition; and who have no more chance of judging of the polity of their ſenate, than they have capacity: but ſpread the rays of philoſophy and truth among the Venetians, and then, if their tyrants practiſe the ſame deſpotiſm with impunity, I will allow that Mr. Jefferſon's parallel is juſt. Yet ſuch arguments would deſerve nothing but contempt, were not their author reſpectable for his cardinal virtues, as well as for the career he bore in the glorious ſtruggles for American independence. However it is a lamentable conſideration that men of talents and genius, who have acquired celebrity among the friends of freedom, ſhould, by vainly circulating their crude ſentiments, retard the progreſs of reaſon.

What myſtery can there be either in politics or religion? Laws founded upon the rights of men, and executed with preciſion, of which every capacity is adequate to judge, conſtitute the perfection of the ſcience of goverment. It is the creation of a diſtinction of powers, with views to intereſt, which infallibly leads to the obſcurity of the human mind; a diſtinction to be avoided as much as poſſible, for the purpoſe of leaving in the hands of the people or their agents the whole powers of government. What fear of a bad adminiſtration is to be apprehended, when it is the intereſt of every individual to continue the guardian of his country's proſperity ? It is promoting a diſtinction where there is none ; and by creating a jealouſy of power, a real and growing evil is produced, when the danger was only imaginary. What intereſt, but that of the public, can a legiſlature have in making the executive part of the government reſponſible to them ? What poſſible danger or inconvenience can flow from ſuch reſponſibility in an enlightened State ? The maxims of reaſon and ignorance are different.

The idea which Mr. Jefferſon makes uſe of in another part of his book, that the Aſſembly may aſſume " all the powers, legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, and that theſe may come to the ſmalleſt rag of delegation" , is perfectly nugatory. The judiciary power the people never parted with entirely, and the executive by the agents of the repreſentatives, qualified to judge of the laws and nature of our particular conſtitution, is not only a cuſtom, but forms a part of the government. It is one of the ſprings by which the harmony of the ſyſtem is preſerved ; and ſhould it at any time be deſtroyed, it is the people who are to rectify the abuſe. They are the potential fountain of all power ; and it is only neceſſary for them and their agents to know this, in order to prevent every danger of the wheels of government being clogged and impeded by the deſtruction of any one of its eſſential ſprings.

The legiſlature is not only unqualified for a tribunal to judge of its own laws from the plurality of its numbers, but it is impoſſible that it could have any object of tyranny in view, when men are familiar with their own rights; and I beg to know what motives, in common ſenſe, could ſuggeſt the idea, of embarraſſing government by mutilating one of its branches? Or is it poſſible that Mr. Jefferſon, when he ſaid under this ſyſtem, the Aſſembly might "aſſume all the powers of government," could mean, that as the executive power emanated from the legiſlature, it was liable to be ſuborned, or under the controul of the repreſentatives of the State? This idea appears indeed too childiſh ever to have entered into the head of even an indifferent ſtateſman: the executive agents of a government being independent in their appointments of every power; but the laws, are no more liable to be controuled by the legiſlature, than by any other power which might appoint them.

Kentucky is divided into counties in like manner as the other States, which are ſimilar to the counties in England. It has been the crude practice hitherto, that each county ſhould have two delegates and one ſenator to repreſent them, without any regard to the number of ſuffrages they contained. This imperfect ſyſtem will be changed by our amended plan as ſoon as it can be finiſhed, and a *cenſus* taken of the inhabitants; and every county will then have its number of repreſentatives in proportion to its population—which ſeems to be the only conſiſtent delegation.—However our old ſyſtem as yet has not produced any bad effects; and as the fluctuations of the populations of the counties were very great, perhaps an attempt at a more exact equality would have been premature.

It is when the local intereſt of a State becomes different or various, that this partial repreſentation is liable to abuſe of privileges; but, for that reaſon it ought to be remedied in every State as early as poſſible.

In every county, magiſtrates or juſtices of the peace are appointed by the people, but commiſſioned by the Governor or Preſident; they act without reward. Their number is in proportion to the population of their diſtrict; and they are nominated from time to time as the inhabitants increaſe, or a vacancy happens from death or any other cauſe; or as their miniſtry may be required. The moſt diſcreet and reſpectable men for integrity and knowledge are promoted to this office.

If it ſhould happen that an ignorant perſon were to acquire popularity ſufficient to ſecure his nomination to the office of a juſtice of the peace, the Governor is not obliged to commiſfies him: thus if the people ſhould be ignorant, they are obliged to ſtand upon their guard, and from this vigilance ſprings the activity of inveſtigation.

These magiſtrates have juriſdiction both criminal and civil. If the queſtion be of law only, they decide on it themſelves; but if it be of fact, or fact and law combined, it muſt be referred to a jury; the jurors decide the fact, and refer the law ariſing on it to the deciſion of the judges. However, this diviſion of the ſubject lies with their diſcretion only; and if the queſtion relate to a point of public liberty, or if the judges are ſuſpected of partiality, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact, which obliges judges to be regular, prompt, and juſt.

When laws are ſimple and underſtood, it is certainly better to leave the deciſion of a legal queſtion to twelve upright men, than to the arbitrary fiat of intereſted or prejudiced judges. But it is by this poiſe, or balance of power, between the jurors and judges, that fair and equitable adminiſtration is ſecured.

The judges execute their proceſs by the ſheriff, or by conſtables. If any perſon commits an offence againſt the State, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a magiſtrate to appear before their Court to anſwer it on indictment or information. If the offence amount to felony, he is committed to priſon, a court of magiſtrates is called, and if on examination they find him guilty, he is ſent to the general court priſon, before which court he is to be tried by a jury of twenty-four, thirteen of whom muſt concur in opinion: if they find him guilty he is then tried by a jury of twelve of his own county where he offended, and by their verdict (which muſt be unanimous) he is acquitted or condemned without appeal.— The Governor has the power to pardon, except in caſe of treaſon, in which caſe the right ſides in the General Aſſembly. Such do we conceive to be the value of the life of every citizen, that we afford him every poſſible chance of proving his innocence.

In civil matters, if the value in diſpute be leſs than twenty ſhillings, a ſingle magiſtrate may try it in any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party caſt. If it be of that, or greater value, it muſt be determined before county court, when the quorum of the magiſtrates muſt be four at leaſt; for which purpoſe, county courts muſt be holden ſome day in every month, in the court-houſe of the different counties. From theſe determinations, if the value be more than 10l. or concern the boundaries of land, there lies an appeal to one of the ſuperior courts. It is optional with the party who brings the action, if the demand is above 10l. to bring it either in the county or general court.

We have two ſuperior courts. The high court of chancery, and the general court.—— Both receive appeals from the county courts, and alſo have original juriſdiction, where the value is above 10l. or where the diſpute is concerning land. The high court of chancery is compoſed of three Judges; the general court of five. The chancery holds its ſeſſions twice a year, at ſtated periods. The general court ſeſſions are quarterly; twice a year for criminal and civil, and twice for criminal only. There is alſo a ſupreme court called the Court of Appeals, compoſed of the judges of the two ſuperior courts, which aſſembles twice a year alſo at ſtated times, at the capital of the ſtate. This court receives appeals in all caſes from each of the ſuperior courts, and determines them finally. This court has no original juriſdiction. Thus far we have followed the [illegible] and practice of Virginia. We have no court of admiralty, nor have we completed our ſyſtem of juriſprudence; but I will endeavour to give you the outlines or principles which will conſtitute its baſis.

The firſt object of every free government is ſecurity [illegible] perſon and property; which is called Freedom. Without ſuch a preſervation there can be no pure liberty. Under ſuch a government, every citizen has a right to do whatever does not injure another. The hinge of ſecurity in a civilized ſtate, is the ſecurity of property, but it is neceſſary that care ſhould be taken not to endanger the liberty of even one of the citizens of the ſtate. For the preſervation of perſonal liberty ſome ſafeguard ſhould be kept, provided by law, both upon the deſigning and unſuſpicious, in order to avoid the great inconveniencies which have flowed from knavery and credulity, as well in moſt of the United States as in Europe. Priſons and dungeons have been perverted into both aſylums for rapine and fraud, and into cells of ſolitary miſery and wretchedneſs, which have in no degree checked the career of diſſipation and prodigality, or produced more induſtry or care; and while the reſentment of diſappointed avarice has been glutted in the fury of revenge; the world has loſt much of the talents and ingenuity of ſome of its moſt valuable citizens. Laws ſhould be calculated to prevent diſtreſs from intemperance and folly, and the commiſſion of crimes as much as poſſible.— Creditors ought to be made cautious in their ſecurity, and when they have truſted beyond a certain ſum, or have not taken a proper precaution, they ſhould be liable to loſe the debt. This would neceſſarily make the parties prudent, and ſo far from being injurious to trade, it would prevent many inconveniencies which reſult from haſty dealings and inſufficient ſecurity. Habit and cuſtom act as powerfully in buſineſs as in any thing elſe. Men would ſoon acquire this ſure way of dealing, and thereby their property would be preſerved, and the liberty and talents of every citizen made uſeful to the ſtate. Every man who lives within his income, and makes prompt payment for what he purchaſes, is known to be a more valuable member of ſociety than a man who is irregular and uncertain in his payments; and it is the rapid circulation of money in the common affairs of life, which tends to lower the price of its neceſſaries as effectually, as the frequent returns in commerce tend to accumulate the capital employed. Laws may be made of this ſort, I am ſure, to regulate the tranſactions of men, without injuring commerce in the leaſt; on the contrary it would render it more profitable, vigorous, and extenſive. Liberty, and the rights of men have been ſhamefully profaned under the crude idea of the aggrandiſement of commerce. The fallacy of old errors will moulder away under the radience of philoſophy, and man muſt look back with indignation at the ſacrilege which has ſullied his rank and dignity as a human being. Examine the catalogue of the poor and unfortunate debtors who have miſerably endured the tortures of cold, hunger, and ſickneſs, in a dungeon, loſt to their family and friends, prevented from a poſſibility of obtaining the neceſſary means to cancel their penal obligations, and left to brood over the calamities to which the follies of a ſanguine youth, bad education, and pernicious laws, have reduced them, and which had encouraged them in the career of vice, and puniſhed them in the hour of deſpair and mortification; and you muſt be inſenſible indeed not to deprecate that degradation, which indigeſted, inhuman, and impolitic inſtitutions have produced in every part of the world. Theſe are ſome of the ſentiments of ſome of our legiſlators, and from ſuch opinions, I flatter myſelf we ſhall afford teſtimony ſufficient that priſons are unneceſſary, except for homicides and traitors, who ought to be tried as immediately as the nature of the caſe would admit. It is the certainty of puniſhment, and the terror of inſtantly ſuffering, which deter men from the commiſſion of thoſe crimes where the conſcience is concerned. It is our nature to look at every thing which is remote with indifference; but proximity excites ſome ſenſations of joy or fear in the breaſts of the moſt callous.

It is a cruel mortification to the progeny or family of any man, who has diſgraced his memory by murder, treaſon, or any other crime, againſt either the laws of God or the ſtate; and it is a lamentable conſideration in human affairs, that it ſhould be neceſſary to make examples which are ſo degrading to the dignity of our natures. Should we then offer inſult to misfortune, and reduce to beggary the innocent offspring or connections of an offending culprit? Surely not. The State is the tutelary guardian of its citizens, the protector of innocence, the promoter of felicity and proſperity, the avenger of wrongs; and not the ſpoiler of comfort, and the tyrant of humanity. For theſe reaſons, neither murder, treaſon, or any other crime, ought to rob the family of the offender, by forfeiture of lands and goods to the State.

Malefactors, ſuch as have been guilty of petty treaſon, manſlaughter, ſodomy, maiming, diſfiguring, counterfeiting money, robbery, burglary, houſe-breaking, horſe-ſtealing, grand larceny, petty-larceny, &c. &c. ſhould be condemned to labour for the State during ſuch a length of time as would be proportionable to the crimes they had committed, which ſhould be defined by law; and in caſe it ſhould be found from experience that this ſyſtem did not tend to deter from the commiſſion of crimes, and was productive of other bad effects, it would then be time enough to introduce more rigorous meaſures. It is however certain, that as yet the ſyſtem in queſtion has not had ſufficient time to be experienced in its full effects in thoſe States which have introduced it in part. But ſo far as a judgment can be formed, it is reaſonable to expect the moſt ſalutary conſequences from ſuch humane meaſures. Our criminal code will be aſtabliſhed upon theſe lenient principles. Our laws reſpecting foreigners will be founded on the broad baſis of hoſpitality, and the friendly principle that the world ought to be governed as one great family. Reſpecting marriage and ſucceſſion, more conformably to the laws of nature than the laws of Europe, women are permitted to enjoy all the privileges, and all that protection, to which reaſon and delicacy entitle them. It is upon ſimilar principles that property is diſtributed in an equal and conſiſtent manner; and that a father is not ſuffered to diſinherit a child, except he can make it appear, to a court of juſtice, that he is radically vicious; and even then, ſuch a derilection muſt be coerced with conſiderations pointed out by the law.

Such are the collected ſentiments of the people upon the ſubject of law and government, and we have the ſatisfaction to know they are analogous to the opinions of a wiſe and judicious European author, whoſe virtues and ſuperior good ſenſe have given them a conſequence in your own nation which does him the higheſt honour; and therefore I will quote from him to conclude this letter, which will ſhew that the ſentiments of enlightened men, upon the ſubject of freedom and government, differ in no reſpect from the ſimple ideas of men who have no guide but reaſon and common ſenſe.

" The true intereſt of the people, then, is to be ſubject to a legiſlation, which, while it reſpects the enjoyments of the rights of mankind, is ſolely intent upon procuring it; and which, faithful to the principles of an enlightened reaſon, ſeeks only the ſureſt and ſimpleſt means of obtaining this end. Whatever be the form of government to which the people are ſubjected, a free commerce, an unreſtrained induſtry, civil laws diſtinguiſhed for their ſimplicity, criminal laws for their juſtice and humanity, founded upon the nature of man, and of ſociety, and deduced from theſe principles by reaſon, ought to be every where the ſame."——Farewell.

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

KENTUCKY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAD the pleaſure of receiving, within theſe two days, your favour, dated the 24th of Auguſt laſt, and admire the virtue and humanity of thoſe of your citizens you mention to have left off the uſe of Weſt India produce, in conſequence of your parliament not having adopted any mode of effecting the abolition of the ſlave trade.

The little pamphlet you did me the favor to ſend with your packet, addreſſed to the people of Great Britain on that ſubject, with obſervations upon the ſituation of the unfortunate Africans enſlaved, contains the pureſt ſentiments of benevolence, and the moſt rational ideas, and it is written with a preciſion which does the higheſt honour to the author's head, as well as to his heart.

We have diſgraced the fair face of humanity, and trampled upon the ſacred privileges of man, at the very moment that we were exclaiming againſt the tyranny of your miniſtry; but in contending for the birthright of freedom,

dom, we have learned to feel for the bondage of others; and, in the libations we offer to the bright goddeſs of liberty, we contemplate an emancipation of the ſlaves of this country, as honourable to themſelves as it will be glorious to us.

I have been aſhamed, in reading Mr. Jefferſon's book, to ſee, from one of the moſt enlightened and benevolent of my countrymen, the diſgraceful prejudices he entertains againſt the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common ſenſe an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that ſuch cannot be the general ſentiments of the people of America.

In the reviſion of a code of laws propoſed for the State of Virginia, it was recommended to emancipate all ſlaves born after paſſing the act, who were to be brought up, at the public expence, to different vocations, until females ſhould be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age; when they ſhould be colonized to ſuch place as circumſtances ſhould render moſt proper, giving them arms, implements, &c. &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them their alliance and protection, until they ſhould have acquired ſtrength and power equal to ſelf-protection.

Concerning which meaſure, Mr. Jefferſon ſays, "It will probably be aſked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks?" He then attempts to give reaſons to prove why it would be impolitic; by alledging that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites, and the recollection of paſt injuries by the blacks, would be productive of continual feuds, which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

To ſuch objections, which he calls political, he ſays, "May be added others, which are moral and phyſical." I will obſerve upon his *political* opinions firſt. The great charge ſuch a buſineſs would be to that State, would neceſſarily tend to procraſtinate its execution, and perhaps render abortive the whole deſign, by making it neceſſary to relinquiſh an object which the finances of the government would not admit of being carrried into execution; and thus a moſt odious tyranny would be prolonged. Beſides, what could be ſo impolitic, in ſuch a country as Virginia, as baniſhing a numerous claſs of men who might be made uſeful citizens, riſking a depopulation of one colour, in order to ſupply their places with another; an undertaking which, independant of the great expence it would be attended with, would alſo prove ſurrounded by many other difficulties. From what country is the vacancy to be filled? Emigrations have been frequent from Europe to America; but it would require a length of time to recruit 250,000 inhabitants, which, I ſuppoſe, is nearly the amount of the ſlaves of Virginia.

There are in politics, as well as in phyſic, caſes which require irregular preſcriptions.—There is no law in nature which bends one man to another; and laws which are not founded in the principles of reaſon and truth, invalidate themſelves. There is no ſtatute which gives power to a white man to exerciſe deſpotiſm over a man becauſe he is black. It is contrary to our bill of rights, as well as repugnant to the code of nature. But the miſchief lies in the prejudices of the times. A complete emancipation, perhaps, would not be borne in Virginia; for which reaſon it muſt be gradual, as it has been in Pennſylvania. It would therefore be wiſe in that ſtate to attach their ſlaves to the land of their reſpective maſters for a certain term of years; after which they ſhould be at liberty to change their ſituations, as their circumſtances or pleaſure would direct, the ſame as any other tenants.

Such a ſyſtem, under ſalutary regulations, would not only afford the negroes a conſiderable proportion of freedom, but would be highly advantageous to the State; as, by parcelling out their immenſe waſte tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which has been impoveriſhed by the pernicious cultivation of tobacco, would become fertilized, and reſtored to its priſtine fecundity.

Let us ſuppoſe the preſent ſlaves of Virginia placed in ſuch a ſituation for their lives, and that all blacks, born after paſſing an act for this purpoſe, ſhould be free at twenty-five years of age. This would afford time not only to put theſe little farms in order, but it would reclaim the exhauſted land, leave the proprietors in a better ſituation than they otherwiſe would have been in from a ſyſtem which encourages indolence, promotes ignorance, tyranny, and every radical vice; but the blacks, by liberal conditions upon ſuch a plan, with induſtry, might be able to educate their children, and accumulate a ſmall property to encourage and ſupport their liberty and independence, and the State would have time to acquire white emigrants, if the blacks did not anſwer the purpoſes of cultivation, and the end of the civil polity of an enlightened government; to ſuppoſe which would be as uncharitable as the remarks of Mr. Jefferſon.

It will, doubtleſs, require a length of time to generalize marriages between the whites and blacks; but that would not prove a material diſadvantage to the State. There would always be ſome whites who would marry blacks for the ſake of property; and, no doubt, when prejudices are worn away, they would unite from more tender and delicate ſentiments.

A judicious author of this country, who has written on the complexion and figure in the human ſpecies, has ſaid: "A nation which migrates to a different climate will, in time, be impreſſed with the characters of its new State: The dark colour of the natives of the Weſt India iſlands is well known to approach very near to a dark copper. The deſcendants of the Spaniards in South America are already become copper-coloured. The Portugueſe of Mitombo, in Sierra Leona, on the coaſt of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly aſſimilated in aſpect, figure, and complexion." And Lord Kaims, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality on this ſubject, ſays of another Portugueſe ſettlement on the coaſt of Congo, "That the deſcendants of thoſe poliſhed Europeans have become, both in their perſons and in their manners, more like beaſts than like men.—These examples tend to ſtrengthen the inference from the changes that have happened in the Anglo-Americans; and they ſhew how eaſily climate would aſſimilate foreigners to natives, in the courſe of time, if they would adopt the ſame manners, and equally expoſe themſelves to its influence."

Whether the black of negroes reſides in the reticular membrane between the ſkin and ſcarf-ſkin, or in the ſcarf-ſkin itſelf——whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of ſome other ſecretion, the difference is not fixed in nature, but is the mere effect of climate, which is proved by the daily teſtimony of the moſt enlightened philoſophers of the preſent age; who have for their ſupport the obſervations and remarks of travellers upon the effects of climate in every part of the globe.

Mr. Jefferſon ſays, it is fixed in nature; and aſks "if the difference is of no real importance?" I anſwer, that it is of no real importance, when compared with the object of reſcuing ſome millions of miſerable human beings from the odious prejudices which have degraded a whole race of men to the rank of beaſts of burden, becauſe they had the misfortune not to have the tinge of *red and white*.

Were a man, who, with all the ardour of a youthful paſſion, had juſt been gazing upon the fair boſom of a loved and beautiful miſtreſs, and afterwards marked the contraſt of that paradiſe of ſublunary bliſs, to the African or Indian hue, to exclaim in the terms which Mr. Jefferſon has uſed, he might be judged excuſable on account of the intoxication of his heated ſenſes—But when a grave philoſopher, who has paſſed the meridian of life, ſits down to meliorate, by his writings and opinions, the condition of the ſlaves of his country, whoſe fetters have fixed an obliquity upon the virtue and humanity of the ſouthern Americans, I confeſs it appears to me not a little jejune and inconſiſtent.

As to the whites being more elegantly formed, as aſſerted by Mr. Jefferſon, I muſt confeſs that it has never appeared ſo to me. On the contrary, I have often obſerved in families which have been remarkable for feeding their blacks well, and treating them in other reſpects with humanity, that their negroes have been as finely formed as any whites I ever ſaw. Indeed my admiration has often been arreſted in examining their proportion, muſcular ſtrength, and athletic powers.

If they ſecrete leſs by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the ſkin, which gives them a ſtrong and diſagreeable odour, it is alſo certain that white men, inhabiting ſouthern climates, do the ſame, more than in northern latitudes: by which means an evaporation takes place from the whole ſurface of the body, which produces that degree of cold which is requiſite to counteract the heat of the climate. As there is always a flow of bile proportionate to the degree of heat, the perſpirable matter will be more or leſs ſaturated with that fluid which, from an antiſeptic quality, produces that odour which is ſuppoſed to indicate an original difference;

ference; but which in reality may be diſcovered in a degree in all black haired people in all countries.

No doubt, too, much of that ardour is owing to their difference of living from that of the whites: for it is certain, that thoſe negroes who are cleanly, and live in the manner of their maſters, have leſs of it.

However, there can be no doubt but that the animal ſyſtem may be ſo materially affected by climate, as to require a length of time to reſtore it to its priſtine ſtate; and whether man was aboriginal to Aſia, or whether every continent had its Adam, is of no conſequence to the argument;—it is certain we are eſſentially the ſame in ſhape and intellect.

"Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reaſon, and imagination, it appears to me," ſays Mr. Jefferſon, "that in memory they are equal to the whites, in reaſon much inferior, as I think one could ſcarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the inveſtigation of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, taſteleſs, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this inveſtigation; we will conſider them here on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed."

Can any poſition be more puerile and inconſiſtent. "We will conſider them on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and then a compariſon is not apocryphal." Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and falſe than eſtimating or comparing the intellect or talents of two deſcriptions of men;—one *enſlaved, degraded, and fettered in all their acts of volition without a viſta, through which the rays of light and ſcience could be ſhot to illumine their ignorant minds.* The other free, independent, and with the advantage of appropriating the reaſon and ſcience which have been the reſult of the ſtudy and labours of the philoſophers and ſenſible men for centuries back. If there have been ſome ſolitary inſtances where negroes have had the advantage of education, they have ſhewn that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great diſadvantage of aſſociating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that poliſh ſo eſſential to arreſt admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to ſervility from the prevalence of manners.

Mr. Jefferſon's own arguments invalidate themſelves. "Homer told us, he ſays, nearly 3000 years ſince,"

"Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
"Makes man a ſlave, takes half his worth away."

Now it is moſt certain that the negroes in A-author reſpectable for his cardinal virtues, as well as for the career he bore in the glorious ſtruggles for American independence. However it is a lamentable conſideration that men of talents and genius, who have acquired celebrity among the friends of freedom, ſhould, by vainly circulating their crude ſentiments, retard the progreſs of reaſon.

What myſtery can there be either in politics or religion? Laws founded upon the rights of men, and executed with preciſion, of which every capacity is adequate to judge, conſtitute the perfection of the ſcience of government. It is the creation of a diſtinction of powers, with views to intereſt, which infallibly leads to the obſcurity of the human mind; a diſtinction to be avoided as much as poſſible, for the purpoſe of leaving in the hands of the people or their agents the whole powers of government. What fear of a bad adminiſtration is to be apprehended, when it is the intereſt of every individual to continue the guardian of his country's proſperity? It is promoting a diſtinction when there is none; and by creating a jealouſy of power, a real and growing evil is produced, when the danger was only imaginary. What intereſt, but that of the public, can a legiſlature have in making the executive part of the government reſponſible to them? What poſſible danger or inconvenience can flow from ſuch reſponſibility in an enlightened State? The maxims of reaſon and ignorance are different.

The idea which Mr. Jefferſon makes uſe of in another part of his book, that the aſſembly may aſſume "all the powers legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, and that theſe may come to the ſmalleſt rag of delegation" is perfectly nugatory. The judiciary power the people never parted with entirely, and the executive by the agents of the repreſentatives, qualified to judge of the laws and nature of our particular conſtitution, is not only a cuſtom, but forms a part of the government. It is one of the ſprings by which the harmony of the ſyſtem is preſerved; and ſhould it at any time be deſtroyed, it is the people who are to rectify the abuſe. They are the potential fountain of all power; and it is only neceſſary for them and their agents to know this, in order to prevent every danger of the wheels of government being clogged and impeded by the deſtruction of any one of its eſſential ſprings.

The legiſlature is not only unqualified for a tribunal to judge of its own laws from the plurality of its numbers, but it is impoſſible that it could have any object of tyranny in view, when men are familiar with their own rights! and I beg to know what motive, in common ſenſe, could ſuggeſt the idea of embarraſſing government by mutilating one of its branches? Or is it poſſible that Mr. Jefferſon, when he ſaid under this ſyſtem, the aſſembly might "aſſume all the powers of government," could mean, that as the executive power emanated from the legiſlature, it was liable to be ſuborned, or under the controul of the repreſentatives of the State? This idea appears indeed too childiſh ever to have entered into the head of even an indifferent ſtateſman: the executive agents of a government being independent in their appointments of every power but the laws, are no more liable to be controuled by the legiſlature, than by any other power which might appoint them.

Kentucky is divided into counties in like manner as the other States, which are ſimilar to the counties in England. It has been the crude practice hitherto, that each county ſhould have two delegates, and one ſenator to repreſent them, without any regard to the number of ſuffrages they contained. This imperfect ſyſtem will be changed by our amended plan as ſoon as it can be finiſhed, and a *cenſus* taken of the inhabitants; and every county will then have its number of repreſentatives in proportion to its population—which ſeems to be the only conſiſtent delegation. However, our old ſyſtem as yet has not produced any bad effects; and as the fluctuations of the populations of the counties were very great, perhaps an attempt at a more exact equality would have been premature.

It is when the local intereſt of a State becomes different or various, that this partial repreſentation is liable to abuſe of privileges; but, ſor that reaſon it ought to be remedied in every State as early as poſſible.

In every county magiſtrates, or juſtices of the peace, are appointed by the people, but commiſſioned by the Governor or Preſident: they act without reward. Their number is in proportion to the population of their diſtrict, and they are nominated from time to time as the inhabitants increaſe, or a vacancy happens from death, or any other cauſe; or as their miniſtry may be required. The moſt diſcreet and reſpectable men for integrity and knowledge are promoted to this office.

If it ſhould happen that an ignorant perſon were to acquire popularity ſufficient to ſecure his nomination to the office of a juſtice of the peace, the Governor is not obliged to commiſſion him: thus, if the people ſhould be ignorant, they are obliged to ſtand upon their guard, and from this vigilance ſprings the activity of inveſtigation.

These magiſtrates have juriſdiction both criminal and civil. If the queſtion be of law only, they decide on it themſelves; but if it be of fact, or fact and law combined, it muſt be referred to a jury: the jurors decide the fact, and refer the law ariſing on it to the deciſion of the judges. However, this diviſion of the ſubject lies with their diſcretion only; and if the queſtion relate to a point of public liberty, or if the judges are ſuſpected of partiality, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact, which obliges judges to be regular, prompt, and juſt.

When laws are ſimple, and underſtood, it is certainly better to leave the deciſion of a legal queſtion to twelve upright men, than to the arbitrary fiat of intereſted or prejudiced judges. But it is by this poiſe, or balance of power, between the jurors and judges, that fair and equitable adminiſtration is ſecured.

The magiſtrates execute their proceſs by the ſheriff, or by conſtables. If any perſon commit an offence againſt the State, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a magiſtrate to appear before their court to anſwer it on indictment or information. If the offence amount to felony, he is committed to priſon, a court of magiſtrates is called, and if on examination they find him guilty, he is ſent to the general court priſon, before which court he is to be tried by a jury of twenty-four, thirteen of whom muſt concur in opinion; if they find him guilty, he is then tried by a jury of twelve of his own county where he offended, and by their verdict (which muſt be unanimous) he is acquitted or condemned without appeal. The Governor has the power to pardon, except in caſe of treaſon, in which caſe the right reſides in the General Aſſembly. Such do we conceive to be the value of the life of every citizen, that we afford him every poſſible chance of proving his innocence.

In civil matters, if the value in diſpute be leſs than twenty ſhillings, a ſingle magiſtrate may try it at any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party caſt. If it be of that, or greater value, it muſt be determined before the county court, when the quorum of magiſtrates muſt be four at leaſt; for which purpoſe, county courts muſt be holden ſome day in every month, in the court-houſe of the different counties. From theſe determinations, if the value be more than 10l. or concern the boundaries of land, there lies an appeal to one of the ſuperior courts. It is optional with the party who brings the action, if the demand is above 10l. to bring it either in the county, or general court.

We have two ſuperior courts. The high court of chancery, and the general court. Both receive appeals from the county courts, and alſo have original juriſdiction, where the value is above 10l. or where the diſpute is concerning land. The high court of chancery is compoſed of three judges; the general court of five. The chancery holds its ſeſſions twice a year, at ſtated periods. The general court ſeſſions are quarterly; twice a year for civil and criminal, and twice for criminal only. There is alſo a ſupreme court called the Court of Appeals, compoſed of the judges of the two ſuperior courts, which aſſembles twice a year alſo, at ſtated times, at the capital of the State. This court receives appeals in all caſes from each of the ſuperior courts, and determines them finally. This court has no original juriſdiction.——Thus far we have followed the model and practice of Virginia. We have no court of admiralty, nor have we completed our ſyſtem of juriſprudence; but I will endeavour to give you the outlines or principles which will conſtitute its baſis.

The firſt object of every free government is ſecurity of perſon and property; which is called Freedom. Without ſuch a preſervation there can be no pure liberty. Under ſuch a government, every citizen has a right to do whatever does not injure another. The hinge of ſecurity in a civilized ſtate is the ſecurity of property; but, in the ſecurity given to property, it is neceſſary that care ſhould be taken not to endanger the liberty of even one of the citizens of a ſtate. For the preſervation of perſonal liberty, ſome ſafeguard ſhould be kept, provided by law, both upon the deſigning and unſuſpicious, in order to avoid the great inconveniences that have flowed from knavery and credulity, as well in moſt of the United States as in Europe. Priſons and dungeons have been perverted into both aſylums for rapine and fraud, and into cells of ſolitary miſery and wretchedneſs, which have in no degree checked the career of diſſipation and prodigality, or produced more induſtry or care; and while the reſentment of diſappointed avarice has been glutted in the fury of revenge, the world has loſt much of the talents and ingenuity of ſome of its moſt valuable citizens. Laws ſhould be calculated to prevent diſtreſs from intemperance and folly, and the commiſſion of crimes, as much as poſſible. Creditors ought to be made cautious in their ſecurity, and when they have truſted beyond a certain ſum, or have not taken proper precautions, they ſhould be liable to loſe the debt. This would neceſſarily make the parties prudent, and ſo far from being injurious to trade, it would prevent many inconveniences which reſult from haſty dealings and inſufficient ſecurity. Habit and cuſtom act as powerfully in buſineſs as in any thing elſe. Men would ſoon acquire this ſure way of dealing, and thereby their property would be preſerved, and the liberty and talents of every citizen made uſeful to the ſtate. Every man who lives within his income, and makes prompt payment for what he purchaſes, is known to be a more valuable member of ſociety than a man who is irregular and uncertain in his payments; and it is the rapid circulation of money in the common affairs of life, which tends to lower the price of its neceſſaries as effectually, as the frequent returns in commerce tend to accumulate the capital employed. Laws may be made of this ſort, I am ſure, to regulate the tranſactions of men, without injuring commerce in the leaſt; on the contrary, it would render it more profitable, vigorous, and extenſive. Liberty, and the rights of men, have been ſhamefully profaned under the crude idea of the aggrandiſement of commerce. The fallacy of old errors will moulder away under the radiance of Philoſophy, and man muſt look back with indignation at the ſacrilege which has ſullied his rank and dignity as a human being. Examine the catalogue of the poor and unfortunate debtors who have miſerably endured the tortures of cold, hunger, and ſickneſs, in a dungeon, loſt to their family and friends, prevented from a poſſibility of obtaining the neceſſary means to cancel their penal obligations, and left to brood over the calamities to which the follies of a ſanguine youth, bad education,

cation, and pernicious laws, have reduced them, and which had encouraged them in the career of vice, and puniſhed them in the hour of deſpair and mortification; and you muſt be inſenſible indeed not to deprecate that degradation which indigeſted, inhuman, and impolitic inſtitutions have produced in every part of the world. Theſe are the ſentiments of many of our legiſlators, and from ſuch opinions, I flatter myſelf, we ſhall afford teſtimony ſufficient that priſons are unneceſſary, except for homicides and traitors, who ought to be tried as immediately as the nature of the caſe would admit. It is the certainty of puniſhment, and the terror of inſtantly ſuffering, that deter men from the commiſſion of thoſe crimes where the conſcience is concerned. It is our nature to look at every thing which is remote with indifference; but proximity excites ſome ſentations of joy or fear in the hearts of the moſt callous.

It is a cruel mortification to the progeny or family of any man who has diſgraced his memory by murder, treaſon, or any other crime, againſt either the laws of God or the State; and it is a lamentable conſideration in human affairs, that it ſhould be neceſſary to make examples which are ſo degrading to the dignity of our natures. Should we then offer inſult to misfortune, and reduce to beggary the innocent offspring or connections of an offending culprit? Surely not. The State is the tutelary guardian of its citizens, the protector of innocence, the promoter of felicity and proſperity, the avenger of wrongs; and not the ſpoiler of comfort, and the tyrant of humanity. For theſe reaſons, neither murder, treaſon, or any other crime, ought to rob the family of the property of the offender by forfeiture of lands and goods to the State.

Malefactors, ſuch as have been guilty of petty treaſon, manſlaughter, ſodomy, maiming, disfiguring, counterfeiting money, robbery, burglary, houſe-breaking, horſe-ſtealing, grand larceny, petty larceny, &c. &c. ſhould be condemned to labour for the State during ſuch a length of time as would be proportionable to the crimes they had committed, which ſhould be defined by law; and in caſe it ſhould be found from experience that this ſyſtem did not tend to deter from the commiſſion of crimes, and was productive of other bad effects, it would then be time enough to introduce more rigorous meaſures. It is however certain, that as yet the ſyſtem in queſtion has not had ſufficient time to be experienced in its full effects in thoſe States that have introduced it in part. But ſo far as a judgment can be formed, it is reaſonable to expect the moſt ſalutary conſequences from ſuch humane meaſures. Our criminal code will be eſtabliſhed upon theſe lenient principles. Our laws reſpecting foreigners will be founded on the broad baſis of hoſpitality, and the friendly principle, that the world ought to be governed as one great family. Reſpecting marriage and ſucceſſion, more conformably to the laws of nature, than the laws of Europe:—women are permitted to enjoy all the privileges, and all that protection, to which reaſon and delicacy entitle them. It is upon ſimilar principles that property is diſtributed in an equal and conſiſtent manner; and that a father is not ſuffered to diſinherit a child, except he can make it appear to a court of juſtice, that he is radically vicious; and even then, ſuch a dereliction muſt be coerced with conſiderations pointed out by the law.

Such are the collected ſentiments of the people upon the ſubject of law and government; and we have the ſatisfaction to know they are analogous to the opinions of a wiſe and judicious European author, whoſe virtues and ſuperior good ſenſe have given them a conſequence in your own nation, which does him the higheſt honour; and therefore I will quote from him to conclude this letter, which will ſhew that the ſentiments of enlightened men, upon the ſubject of freedom and government, differ in no reſpect from the ſimple ideas of men who have no guide but reaſon and common ſenſe.

" The true intereſt of the people, then, is to be ſubject to a legiſlation, which, while it reſpects the enjoyments of the rights of mankind, is ſolely intent upon procuring it; and which, faithful to the principles of an enlightened reaſon, ſeeks only the ſureſt and ſimpleſt means of obtaining this end.——Whatever be the form of government to which the people are ſubjected, a free commerce, an unreſtrained induſtry, civil laws diſtinguiſhed for their ſimplicity, criminal laws for their juſtice and humanity, founded upon the nature of man, and of ſociety, and deduced from theſe principles by reaſon, ought to be every where the ſame."——Farewell.

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

I HAD the pleaſure of receiving, within theſe two days, your favour, dated the 24th of Auguſt laſt, and admire the virtue and humanity of thoſe of your citizens you mention to have left off the uſe of Weſt-India produce, in conſequence of your parliament not having adopted any mode of effecting the abolition of the ſlave trade.

The little pamphlet you did me the favour to ſend with your packet, addreſſed to the people of Great Britain on that ſubject, with obſervations upon the ſituation of the unfortunate Africans enſlaved, contains the pureſt ſentiments of benevolence, and the moſt rational ideas, and it is written with a preciſion which does the higheſt honour to the author's head, as well as to his heart.

We have diſgraced the fair face of humanity, and trampled upon the ſacred privileges of man, at the very moment that we were exclaiming againſt the tyranny of your miniſtry; but in contending for the birth-right of freedom, we have learned to feel for the bondage of others; and, in the libations we offer to the fair goddeſs of Liberty, we contemplate an emancipation of the ſlaves of this country, as honourable to themſelves, as it will be glorious to us.

I have been aſhamed, in reading Mr. Jefferſon's book, to ſee, from one of the moſt enlightened and benevolent of my countrymen, the diſgraceful prejudices he entertains againſt the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common ſenſe an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that ſuch cannot be the general ſentiments of the people of America.

In the reviſion of a code of laws propoſed for the State of Virginia, it was recommended to emancipate all ſlaves born after paſſing the act, who were to be brought up, at the public expence, to different vocations, until females ſhould be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age; when they ſhould be colonized to ſuch place as circumſtances ſhould render moſt proper, giving them arms, implements, &c. &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them their alliance and protection, until they ſhould have acquired ſtrength and power equal to ſelf-protection.

Concerning which meaſure, Mr. Jefferſon ſays, "It will probably be aſked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks?" He then attempts to give reaſons to prove why it would be impolitic; by alleging that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites, and the recollection of paſt injuries by the blacks, would be productive of continual feuds, which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

To ſuch objections, which he calls political, he ſays, "may be added others, which are moral and phyſical." I will obſerve upon his *political* opinions firſt. The great charge ſuch a buſineſs would be to that State, would neceſſarily tend to procraſtinate its execution, and perhaps render abortive the whole deſign, by making it neceſſary to relinquiſh an object which the finances of the government would not admit of being carried into execution; and thus a moſt odious tyranny would be prolonged. Beſides, what could be ſo impolitic, in ſuch a country as Virginia, as baniſhing a numerous claſs of men who might be made uſeful citizens, riſking a depopulation of one colour, in order to ſupply their places with another; an undertaking which, independent of the great expence it would be attended with, would alſo prove ſurrounded by many other difficulties. From what country is the vacancy to be filled? Emigrations have been frequent from Europe to America: but it would require a length of time to recruit 250,000 inhabitants, which, I ſuppoſe, is nearly the amount of the ſlaves of Virginia.

There are in politics, as well as in phyſic, caſes which require irregular preſcriptions. There is no law in nature which binds one man to another; and laws, which are not founded in the principles of reaſon and truth, invalidate themſelves. There is no ſtatute which gives power to a white man to exerciſe deſpotiſm over a man becauſe he is black. It is contrary to our bill of rights, as well as repugnant to the code of nature. But the miſchief lies in the prejudices of the times. A complete emancipation, perhaps, would not be borne in Virginia; for which reaſon it muſt be gradual, as it has been in Pennſylvania. It would therefore be wiſe in that State to attach their ſlaves to the land of their reſpective maſters for a certain term of years; after which they ſhould be at liberty to change their ſituations, as their circumſtances or pleaſure would direct, the ſame as any other tenants.

Such a ſyſtem, under ſalutary regulations, would not only afford the negro a conſiderable proportion of freedom, but would be highly advantageous to the State; as, by parcelling out their immenſe waſte tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which has been impoveriſhed by the pernicious cultivation of tobacco, would become fertilized, and reſtored to its priſtine fecundity.

Let us ſuppoſe the preſent ſlaves of Virginia placed in ſuch a ſituation for their lives, and that all blacks, born after paſſing an act for this purpoſe, ſhould be free at twenty-five years of age.

This would afford time not only to put theſe little farms in order, but it would reclaim the exhauſted land, and leave the proprietors in a better ſituation than they otherwiſe would have been in, from a ſyſtem which encourages indolence, promotes ignorance, tyranny, and every radical vice; but the blacks, by liberal conditions upon ſuch a plan, with induſtry, might be able to educate their children, and accumulate a ſmall property to encourage and ſupport their liberty and independence, and the State would have time to acquire white emigrants, if the blacks did not anſwer the purpoſes of cultivation, and the end of the civil polity of an enlightened government; to ſuppoſe which would be as uncharitable as the remarks of Mr. Jefferſon.

It will, doubtleſs, require a length of time to generalize marriages between the whites and blacks; but that would not prove a material diſadvantage to the State. There would always be ſome whites who would marry blacks for the ſake of property; and, no doubt, when prejudices are worn away, they would unite from more tender and delicate ſentiments.

A judicious author of this country, who has written on the complexion and figure in the human ſpecies, has ſaid: "A nation which migrates to a different climate will, in time, be impreſſed with the characters of its new State: The dark colour of the natives of the Weſt India iſlands is well known to approach very near to a dark copper. The deſcendants of the Spaniards in South America are already become copper-coloured. The Portugueſe of Mitombo, in Sierra Leona, on the coaſt of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly aſſimilated in aſpect, figure, and complexion." And Lord Kaims, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality on this ſubject, ſays of another Portugueſe ſettlement on the coaſt of Congo, "That the deſcendants of thoſe poliſhed Europeans have become, both in their perſons and in their manners, more like beaſts than like men. Theſe examples tend to ſtrengthen the inference from the changes that have happened in the Anglo-Americans; and they ſhew how eaſily climate would aſſimilate foreigners to natives, in the courſe of time, if they would adopt the ſame manners, and equally expoſe themſelves to its influence."

Whether the black of negroes reſides in the reticular membrane between the ſkin and ſcarf-ſkin, or in the ſcarf-ſkin itſelf —— whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of ſome other ſecretion, the difference is not fixed in nature, but is the mere effect of climate, which is proved by the daily teſtimony of the moſt enlightened philoſophers of the preſent age; who have for their ſupport the obſervations and remarks of travellers upon the effects of climate in every part of the globe.

Mr. Jefferſon ſays, it is fixed in nature; and aſks, "if the difference is of no real importance?" I anſwer, that it is of no real importance, when compared with the object of reſcuing ſome millions of miſerable human beings from the odious prejudices which have degraded a whole race of men to the rank of beaſts of burden, becauſe they had the misfortune not to have the tinge of *red and white.*

Were a man, who, with all the ardour of a youthful paſſion, had juſt been gazing upon the fair boſom of a loved and beautiful miſtreſs, and afterwards marked the contraſt of that paradiſe of ſublunary bliſs, to the African or Indian hue, to exclaim in the terms which Mr. Jefferſon has uſed, he might be judged excuſable on account of the intoxication of his heated ſenſes—But when a grave philoſopher, who has paſſed the meridian of life, ſits down to meliorate, by his writings and opinions, the condition of the ſlaves of his country, whoſe fetters have fixed an obloquy upon the virtue and humanity of the ſouthern Americans, I confeſs it appears to me not a little inconſiſtent.

As to the whites being more elegantly formed, as aſſerted by Mr. Jefferſon, I muſt confeſs that it has never appeared ſo to me. On the contrary, I have often obſerved, in families which have been remarkable for feeding their blacks well, and treating them in other reſpects with humanity, that their negroes have been as finely formed as any whites I ever ſaw.—Indeed, my admiration has often been arreſted in examining their proportion, muſcular ſtrength, and athletic powers.

If they ſecrete leſs by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the ſkin, which gives them a ſtrong and diſagreeable odour, it is alſo certain that white men, inhabiting ſouthern climates, do the ſame, more than in northern latitudes: by which means an evaporation takes place from the whole ſurface of the body, which produces that degree of cold which is requiſite to counteract the heat of the climate. As there is always a flow of bile proportionate to the degree of heat, the perſpirable matter will be more or leſs ſaturated with that fluid, which, from an antiſeptic quality, produces that odour which is ſuppoſed to indicate an original difference; but which, in reality, may be diſcovered in a degree in all black haired people in all countries.

No doubt, too, much of that odour is owing to their difference of living from that of the whites: for it is certain, that thoſe negroes who are cleanly, and live in the manner of their maſters, have leſs of it.

However, there can be no doubt but that the animal ſyſtem may be ſo materially affected by climate, as to require a length of time to reſtore it to its priſtine ſtate; and whether man was aboriginal to Aſia, or whether every continent has had its Adam, is of no conſequence to the argument:—it is certain we are eſſentially the ſame in ſhape and intellect.

"Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reaſon, and imagination, it appears to me," ſays Mr. Jefferſon, "that in memory they are equal to the whites, in reaſon much inferior, as I think one could ſcarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the inveſtigation of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, taſteleſs and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this inveſtigation; we will conſider them here on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed."

Can any poſition be more puerile and inconſiſtent? "We will conſider them on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and then a compariſon is not apocryphal." Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and falſe than eſtimating in comparing the intellect or talents of two deſcriptions of men;—one *enſlaved, degraded, and fettered in all their acts of volition, without a viſta through which the rays of light and ſcience could be ſent to illumine their ignorant minds.* The other free, independent, and with the advantage of appropriating the reaſon and ſcience which have been the reſult of the ſtudy and labours of the philoſophers and ſenſible men for centuries back. If there have been ſome ſolitary inſtances where negroes have had the advantage of education, they have ſhewn that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great diſadvantage of aſſociating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that poliſh ſo eſſential to arreſt admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to ſervility from the prevalence of manners.

Mr. Jefferſon's own arguments invalidate themſelves. "Homer told us, he ſays, nearly 3000 years ſince,

"Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
"Makes man a ſlave, takes half his worth away."

Now it is moſt certain that the negroes in America

rica have not only been enſlaved, but that they have exiſted under the moſt inhuman and nefarious tyranny, particularly in the ſouthern States.

Baron de Tott, ſpeaking of the ignorance of the Turks, who are alſo ſlaves, but whites, ſaid "that it was with difficulty that he could make them comprehend how the two angles of the ~~two~~ triangles could be equal to one right one." But it is only neceſſary to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferſon's arguments to copy his own reflection. He aſks, "if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be ſuch by all nations, how many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and ſciences had Europe, north of the Alps, when the Romans croſſed thoſe mountains?" and then he ſays, "it was ſixteen centuries before a Newton could be formed." And after aſking theſe queſtions, he abſurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to ſpring up like muſhrooms.

However, a black in New England has compoſed an ephemeris, which I have ſeen, and which men, converſant in the ſcience of aſtronomy declare exhibits marks of acute reaſon and genius.

To contend, however, that the world has produced but two poets, is rather the aſſertion of a pedant than a philoſopher; and to maintain that no perſons read Milton and Shakeſpear with delight but Engliſhmen is not ſtrictly juſt. For every man of taſte and judgment who underſtands the Engliſh language to perfection, muſt read them, and many other [illegible] poets with the moſt animated pleaſure—and if the Jeruſalem delivered, the Henriad, and the Luſiad, have only been generally read by the countrymen of their reſpective authors, it is not becauſe they have neither genius nor excellence, but becauſe it has been more the ſyſtem of education in Europe to ſtudy the claſſics than the modern languages, which has given a predominant preference among the literari in every country to the Greek and Latin poet.

" Religion has produced a Phillis Whately; but it could not produce a poet," is another of Mr. Jefferſon's dogmata. Phillis was brought from Africa to America, between ſeven and

eight

eight years of age, and without any aſſiſtance from a ſchool education, and before ſhe was fifteen years old wrote many of her poems. This information is atteſted by her then maſter, John Wheatly, dated Boſton, November 14, 1772. I will tranſcribe part of her Poem on Imagination, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, of eſtimating her genius and Mr. Jefferſon's judgment; and I think, without any diſparagement to him, that, by compariſon, Phillis appears much the ſuperior. Indeed, I ſhould be glad to be informed what White upon this continent has written more beautiful lines.

"Imagination! who can ſing thy force?
Or who deſcribe the ſwiftneſs of thy courſe?
Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
Th' imperial palace of the thund'ring God,
We on thy pinions can ſurpaſs the wind,
And leave the rolling univerſe behind:
From ſtar to ſtar the mental optics rove,
Meaſure the ſkies, and range the realms above;
There in one view we graſp the mighty whole,
Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded ſoul.
Though winter frowns, to fancy's raptured eyes
The fields may flouriſh, and gay ſcenes ariſe;

The frozen deeps may burſt their iron bands,
And bid their waters murmur o'er the ſands.
Fair Flora may reſume her fragrant reign,
And with her flow'ry riches deck the plain;
Sylvanus may diffuſe his honours round,
And all the foreſt may with leaves be crown'd:
Show'rs may deſcend, and dews their gems diſcloſe,
And nectar ſparkle on the blooming roſe."

Mr. Jefferſon has been equally ſevere upon Ignatius Sancho. But, as I have not the honour to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho's writings, I ſhall conclude that that criticiſm is equally marked with prejudice. His ſaying, "that Terence was a ſlave, but not black," is in contradiſtinction to the teſtimony of every other authority; who all agree, that he was not only an African, but a Numidian, who are all known to be black.

But, to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferſon has remarked, "that the Indian, with no advantage of education, is eloquent and ingenious," without recollecting that the ſavage is free while the poor African is enſlaved; though he allows

that

that ſervitude deſtroys half the worth of the human ſoul.

But to do juſtice to his candour and heart, I will give you his concluſion upon this ſubject: "The whole commerce between maſter and ſlave is a perpetual exerciſe of the moſt boiſterous paſſions, the moſt unremitting deſpotiſm on one part, and degrading ſubmiſſions on the other. Our children ſee this, and learn to imitate it. The parent ſtorms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the ſame airs, gives a looſe to his worſt of paſſions; and thus nurſed, educated, and daily exerciſed in tyranny, cannot but be ſtamped with odious peculiarities."

After making ſeveral moral reflections upon the ſubject of ſlavery, he finiſhes with theſe emphatical words. "Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that GOD is juſt:—that his juſtice cannot ſleep for ever: that, conſidering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of ſituation, is among poſſible events: that it may become probable by ſupernatural interference!

rence! The Almighty has no attribute which can take ſide with us in ſuch a conteſt."

You ſee, my dear friend, how powerful is the effect of habit and prejudice; that with ideas and principles founded in reaſon and truth, ſufficient to demonſtrate that ſlavery deſtroys the energy of the human mind, and with a heart which does honour to Mr. Jefferſon as a man, his mind is ſo warped by education and the habit of thinking, that he has attempted to make it appear the African is a being between the human ſpecies and the oran-outang; and ridiculouſly ſuffered his imagination to be carried away with the idle tales of that animal's embracing the negroe women, in preference to the females of its own ſpecies.

Great God! how long is the world to be tantalized with ſuch paltry ſophiſtry and nonſenſe! My pity and indignation have been alternately excited ſince I have been writing this letter. But, I hope thoſe dazzling rays of philanthropy which gleam in the flattering account you have given me of the diſpoſition of your countrymen, will give a ſtab to the principles of domeſtic tyranny, and fix an odium upon thoſe leaches of human blood, as flagrant as they are contemptible. Farewell. In the libations of this night, and appropriate hours of love and ſocial pleaſure, the object of uſing my feeble powers in attempting to alleviate the opreſſions of the miſerable in every part of the world, ſhall not be forgotten.

I remain, moſt affectionately,

Yours, &c.

LETTER X.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR laſt favour gave me the moſt lively pleaſure; but, I fear, you have been too ſanguine in the expectation, that the degree of loſs to the revenue in conſequence of the increaſed number who have left off the uſe of ſugar, will compel your parliament to aboliſh the ſlave trade upon the principle of policy.

No doubt but the ſyſtem is impolitic under every conſideration; but when a government acts more upon principles of patronage, than upon a wiſe and liberal policy, little is to be expected from opinions ſo vitiated and controuled by bad habits of thinking.

Ignorant minds are always the moſt incorrigible, and the devaſtations which folly and contumely have produced in its perſeverance in error, ſhews, in the ſtrongeſt of all poſſible light, the advantage of philoſophy. While weak men dread what they call innovation, amendments will be very tardy; and until education with you is ameliorated, I expect your unnatural ſyſtem of ſlavery, chartered companies, &c. &c. will be continued. However, an æra will arrive when States who are more wiſe than your nation appears to be in the appropriation of uſeful truths, will eclipſe the brilliancy of your commerce, and then the ſpirit of a people renowned for their magnanimity will tear from the fair face of reaſon, the odious maſk which has ſo long obſcured her luſtre.

It requires no oracular faculties to ſee that that period is rapidly advancing; and it is to be preſumed that the moſt conceited and ſtubborn ſteward would take ſome precaution againſt the dangers of an impending hurricane.

Previous to your laſt requeſt, I had interſperſed in my different letters ſome account of the natural hiſtory of this country, and had referred you to Mr. Jefferſon for more full information; but as it is always with the greateſt pleaſure I write to you, I ſhall give you ſuch an account of it as the length of a letter and my knowledge of the ſubject will permit.

I am too proud to make any apology for being obliged to give you in many inſtances the popular names of our vegetables, &c. &c.; for, I think, it is high time that the Linnæan deſignation was angliciſed.

Linnæus had great merit as firſt nomenclator in the ſcience of natural hiſtory, and no doubt did the world a great and eſſential good by prefering the Latin to the Swediſh language for his purpoſe. But from the perfection which botany and natural hiſtory have attained, I think the object of ſimplifying, or rendering into Engliſh, the various terms in that ſcience, highly worthy the attention of ſome enlightened philoſopher.

True, the Latin has hitherto been the moſt general language in Europe among ſcientific men, and thus far the infancy of the ſtudy has been rapidly matured by the happy adoption. But the Engliſh language bids fair to ſuperſede it; and when we take a view of the different parts of the globe that are ſettled by people who ſpeak Engliſh, and compare it with the perfection which that language has arrived at, I think it ſeems probable in the courſe of time that it will become univerſal.

We have a variety of ſpontaneous kinds of graſs, for many of which we have no name. I have ſpoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may conſider as a graſs, ſince it will anſwer every purpoſe of graſs to him. I have alſo mentioned our clover and rye-graſs. Beſides which, we have, of the graſs kind, the pea-vine, which in a ſmall degree reſembles your pea-vine. It has the ſame kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, ſhrubs, and rye-graſs, which frequently grows interſperſed with it. Its bloſſoms are of a reddiſh hue, and it produces a ſmall and imperfect pea. In very rich ſoil, it grows from three to five feet high; but in general it does not exceed eighteen inches or two feet, and is not of ſo luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but has a much nearer reſemblance to graſs.

Our other principal ſorts of natural graſs are, the buffalo, orchard, ſpear, blue, and crab graſſes. The buffalo graſs is rather coarſe,

grows

grows from nine to eighteen inches high, and is generally found moſt plentiful in a middling ſoil. It has a broad leaf, and ſeems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally ſpring up after the land has been cultivated, and from excellent paſtures; and are alſo capable of being made into hay, particularly the ſpear and blue graſs.

Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus, and a profuſion of daiſies, appear on the approach of ſpring, which are ſucceeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, and a multitude of other flowers, ſuch as heart's-eaſe, lilies, red and white, hollyhocks, pinks, golden rod, cowſlips, may-flowers, jeſſamine, columbine, honey-ſuckles, rock honey-ſuckles, tuberoſe, ranunculas, marſh-mallows, violets, roſes of different ſorts, &c. &c.

Of herbs, &c. we have of the wild ſort, marjoram, ſun-dew, ſage, thyme, Indian leaf, roſemary, angelica, fennel, lovage, mugwort, ox-eye, mother-wort, feverfew, cat's-mint, penny-royal, rue, mint, yarrow, burnet, nettle, ſanicle, rupture-wort, cudweed, white and black maiden-hair, colewort, ground-pine, tooth-wort, ground-ivy, lung-wort, mountain-polly, winter-green, hore-hound, ladies mantle, celadine, jew's-ear, horſe-mint, liver-wort, water-creſſes, ſcurvy graſs, muſtard, hyſſop, tanſy, dock, aſmart, glaſs-wort, hellobore, wolf's-bane, ſpikenard, &c. &c. &c.

You will obſerve, that we have adopted names that are common in Europe, and preſume that it is the affinity between your plants of the above names, and ours, which have produced theſe denominations. How far they are applicable, requires a better botaniſt to determine than I profeſs to be; and to relate their different minutiæ, would be both tedious and unſatisfactory, as it is impoſſible to give a juſt idea of their comparative ſimilarity by a deſcription.

FARINACEOUS, LEGUMINOUS PLANTS, &c.

Indian corn	Zea mays
Wild oat	Zezania aquatica
Wild rye	
Indian millet	Holcus laxus
Wild pea	Dolichus
Panic	Panicum

There are many of this ſpecies.

Lupine

Lupine	Lupinus perennis
Jeruſalem artichoke	Helianthus tuberoſus
Cymlings	Cucurbita verrucoſa
Squaſhes	Cucurbita melopepo
Purſlain	Portulaca oleracea
Lettuce	Lactuca viroſa.

FIBROUS PLANTS, &c.

Wild hemp	Acnida cannabina
Wild flax	Linum Virginianum
Wild hop	Humulus cupulus.

ROOTS, &c.

Sarſaparilla	Sarſaparillæ
Indian phyſic	Spiræa trifoliata
Ipecacuanha	Phychotria emetica
Pleuriſy root	Aſclepias decumbens
Virginia ſnake root	Ariſtolochia ſerpentaria
Black ſnake root	Actæa racemoſa
Seneca rattleſnake root	Polygala ſenega
Valerian	Valeriana locuſta radiata
Ginſeng	Phanax quinquefolium
Caſſava	Jatropha urens
Granadillas	Paſſiflora incarnata.

FRUITS, &c.

Mulberry	Morus
Green-river plumb	
Barren, or red plumb	
Cherokee plumb	Prunus ſylveſtris fructu minori
Wild cherry	Prunus Virginiana
Wild crab-apple	Pyrus coronaria
Perſimmon	Dioſpyros Virginiana.

There are various kinds of grapes.

Scarlet ſtrawberries	Fragaria Virginiana
Wortleberries	Vaccinium uliginoſum

[*Jefferſon.*

Wild gooſeberries	Ribes groſſularia
Wild currants	
Cranberries	Vaccinium oxycoccos
Black raſberries	Rubus occidentalis.

May-apple. This apple is produced from an annual plant which is among the firſt vegetables that come forward in the ſpring; it is about ten or twelve inches high, advancing rapidly to maturity, and the apple grows much in the manner of the potatoe ſeed, and is nearly of the ſame ſize. When ripe, it is of the colour of a pale orange. The pulp is of a ſucculent nature, without any ſeed, and its flavour very much like the pine apple. It is ripe early in June.

Acimene. This fruit grows upon a ſhrub, and is from four to five inches in length, and from one to one and a half diameter. The pulp is ſweet and tender. It ripens in July.

Peakimine. A ſpecies of plumb, nearly the ſize of the mogul plumb, but more delicious.

Papaw. This fruit grows upon a tree from twelve to twenty-ſix feet high. It is in ſhape more like a ſeed cucumber than any thing elſe. It is ripe about midſummer. Its pulp is yellow, and ſomewhat of the conſiſtence of an indifferent melon, and its flavour very much like a cuſtard, but it is too luſcious to be agreeable; though, when boiled green, it is good eating.

NUT TREES, &c.

Sealy bark hiccory	Juglans alba cortiæ ſquamoſo [*Jefferſon.*
Common hiccory	Juglans alba fructu minore rancido [*Clayton.*

There are a variety of other kinds of hiccory which have not been deſignated.

Black walnut	Juglans nigra
White walnut	Juglans alba
Cheſnut	Fagus pumila
Hazle nut	Corylus avellana.

Beſides the above, the Carolina ground-nut grows low down on the Miſſiſſippi, and the peccane in the Illinois, in the county of Cumberland, and every where near the mouth of the Ohio. It is about two-thirds of the ſize of an Engliſh walnut, and the ſhell ſmooth and tender. Mr. Jefferſon has given it a deſignation which is equal in length to the name of a Spaniſh cavalier. He ſpecifies it as the juglans alba, foliolis lanceolatis, acuminatis, ſerratis, tomentoſis, fructu minore, ovato, compreſſo, vix inſculpto, dulci, putamine, tenerrimo.

Poke	Phytolacca decandra
Plane-tree	Platanus occidentalis
Lime-tree	Zilia Americana
Poplar	Liriodendron tulipifera
Black poplar	Populus nigra
Red flowering maple	Acer rubrum
Umbrella tree	Magnolia tripetala
Buck-eye	Æſculus

Aſpen

Aſpen	Populus tremula
Reed, or cane	Arundo phragmitis
Locuſt	Robinia pſeudo acacia
Honey locuſt	Gleditſia
Barberry	Berberis vulgaris
Dog-wood	Cornus florida
Snow-drop tree	Chionanthus Virginia
Holly	Ilex aquifolium
Swamp laurel	Magnolia acuminata
Portugal bay	Laurus indica
Catalpa	Bignonica catalpa
Wild pimento	Laurus benzion
Red bud	Cercis Canadenſis
Saſſafras	Laurus ſaſſafras
Common laurel of this country	Not claſſed
Cockſpur	Cratœgus coccinea
Red bay	Laurus borbonia
Dwarf roſe bay	Rhododendron maximum
Spindle tree	Euonymus Europæus
Evergreen ſpindle tree	Euonymus Americanus
Alder	Sambucus nigra
Candleberry myrtle	Myrica cerifera
Sumach	Rhus. Not claſſed
Cotton tree	Not claſſed

Satin-wood tree	Not claſſed
Coffee tree	Not claſſed
Dwarf laurel	Calmia latifoliæ
American aloe	Agave Virginica
Ivy	Hedera quinquefolia
Hemlock fir	Pinus Canadenſis
Papaw	Annona triloba
Trumpet honey-ſuckle	Lonicera ſemper virens
Upright honey-ſuckle	Azalea nudiflora
Juniper	Juniperus Virginica

Grows only in the ſouthern parts of the weſtern country.

Black oak	Quercus nigra
White oak	Quercus alba
Red oak	Quercus rubra
Willow oak	Quercus phellos
Cheſnut oak	Quercus prinus
Black-jack oak	Quercus aquatica [*Clayton*
Ground oak	Quercus pumila [*Ditto.*
Live oak	Quercus Virginiana [*Miller.*

* The live oak grows only low down on the Miſſiſſippi, on this ſide of the mountain.

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* The live oak grows in quantity ſufficient, between the Miſſiſſippi and the River St. Joſeph, as would be equal to build

Sugar tree	Acer ſaccharinum
Which is the common name throughout this country for the ſugar maple.	
Beech	Fagus ſylvatica
White aſh	Fraxinus alba
Black aſh	Fraxinus nigra
Elm	Ulmus Americana
Slippery elm	Not claſſed
Sweet elm	Ulmus ſaccharina Americana
Button-wood tree	Not claſſed
Black birch	Betula nigra
White birch	Betula alba
Sweet gum	Liquidambar ſtyraciflua
Pitch pine	Pinus tæda
Grows only on the ſouthern branches of the Ohio, Weſt Florida, and the mountainous parts of the country.	
White pine	Pinus ſtrobus
Grows only in the mountainous country.	

build and ſupport a navy ſuperior to the maritime ſtrength of Europe combined together, and which is acknowledged to be the moſt laſting and beſt calculated for ſhips of war of any kind of timber that has been uſed for that purpoſe.

Yellow pine	Pinus Virginica

Grows alſo in the mountains.

Spruce pine	Pinus foliis ſingularibus [*Clayton.*

Spruce pine grows moſtly upon the precipices of river banks, upon the ſides of high hills, and never in the champaign country.

Cypreſs	Cypreſſus diſticha
White cedar	Cypreſſus thyoides

The cypreſs and white cedar grow in abundance in the country contiguous to the gulf of Mexico, but in the country high up the rivers, very few of them are to be found.

The beſt ſoil produces little timber but the locuſt, cherry, walnut, buck-eye, ſugar-tree, elm, beech, aſh, ſatin-wood, and papaw. The middle rate land oaks, hiccory, dog-wood, ſome ſugar-trees, and beech. What we call indifferent land affords moſtly black and red oaks, ſome hiccory, gum, &c. and the more broken and hilly country (I mean the worſt land), black-jack oak, fir, &c.

There is a variety of ſhrubs in every part of the country, the principal of which are the myrtle and ſpice berry; and a number of different kinds of graſs, &c. that I am unable to deſcribe; for, indeed, they have not all obtained popular names; and I am too ignorant of botany, as I have confeſſed, to attempt to claſs them; which, perhaps, is the fineſt field now open to a man of genius, in the ſcience of botany, upon the face of the globe.

Buffon, Kalm, D'Abenton, Cateſby, and Pennant, have all touched upon the natural hiſtory of America. The firſt and laſt have confined themſelves chiefly to the deſcription of animals; and as they are juſtly admired for their talents, I ſhall confine myſelf merely to giving you a liſt of the wild animals which are common to the weſtern country, and refer you to their works for the natural hiſtory. Such errors as Buffon had been drawn into from prejudice, Mr. Jefferſon has ably confuted.

ANIMALS		WHERE COMMON.
Buffalo.	Biſon	Between lat. 42 and 37
Mooſe elk.	Elan original, palmated	To the north of lat. 43
Elk, round horned		Between lat. 40 and 36

ANIMALS.		WHERE COMMON.
Caribou.	Renne	To the north of lat. 43
Red deer.	Cerf	To the south of lat. 40
Roe.	Chevreuil	To the north of lat. 40
Fallow deer.	Daim	To the north of lat. 42
Bear.	Ours	Every part of this country
Wild cat.	Chat ſauvage	Ditto
Wolf.	Loup	Ditto
Glutton.	Carcajou	To the north of lat. 42
Lynx.	Loup cervier	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Beaver.	Caſtor	To the north of lat. 37
Otter.	Loutre	Between lat. 45 and 36
Red fox.	Renard	To the north of lat. 39
Grey fox.	Iſatis	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Hedge-hog.	Herriſon	To the north of lat. 40
Martin.	Marte	To the north of lat. 38
Weaſel.	Belitte	To the ſouth of the lakes
Water rat.	Rat d'eau	Between lat. 42 and 36
Monax.	Marmotte	
Flying ſquirrel.	Palatouche	To the ſouth of lat. 40
Fox ſquirrel		Between lat. 39 and 36
Black ſquirrel		Bettween lat. 39 and 42
Red ſquirrel		To the ſouth of lat. 40

Animals.	Where common.
Great grey ſquirrel	To the north of lat. 38.
Little grey ſquirrel	Between lat. 38 and 32
Ground ſquirrel	Between lat. 40 and 36.
Mink	To the ſouth of lat. 44
Shrew mouſe. Muſaraigne	To the ſouth of lat. 43
Roccoon. Raton	To the ſouth of the lakes as far as lat. 87
Opoſſum. Sarique	To the ſouth of lat. 41
Viſon. Fouine	
Scunk. Mouffette. Conepate	Between lat. 43 and 36
Cougar	
Rabbit	Every part of this country, but no where ſo numerous as on the other ſide of the mountain——(N. B. There is not a wild hare in all America.)
Mouffette ſquaſh	Between lat. 43 and 36
Mouffette chinche	
Panther	To the north of lat. 33
Wood chuck	Between lat. 39 and 44
Porcupine	To the north of lat. 42
Dormouſe	To the north of lat. 40.

There are beſides moles, mice, and bats, ſeveral other animals in the extreme parts of the country. I have omitted ſaying any thing reſpecting them, as I could not do it with ſufficient accuracy; but you will find, in Mr. Jefferſon's liſt of the aboriginal animals of America, an account of the whole of them.

I have already taken notice of the great bones which have been found in this country; but as I was not minute as to the eſtimate of their ſize, I ſhall juſt remark, that it was the opinion of your celebrated anatomiſt, the late Dr. Hunter, from an examination of the tuſks, that the mammouth was an animal entirely different from the elephant, and Mr. Jefferſon, who ſeems to have examined the ſkeleton with curious attention, ſays, "the bones beſpeak an animal of five or ſix times the cubic volume of the elephant, as Monſ. de Buffon has admitted." And I have been informed by a gentleman who attended the lectures of Dr. Cline, in London, that this ingenious anatomiſt uſed to produce one of the tuſks of the mammouth, when he was lecturing, and declared that the animal muſt have been carnivorous.

In my account of the birds of this country, I ſhall moſtly give you the Linnæan deſignation, in preference to Cateſby's, though Cateſby's deſignation is moſt general.

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.
Bald eagle	Falco leucocephalus
Turkey buzzard	Vultur aura
Sparrow hawk	Falco ſparverius
Forked tail hawk	Falco furcatus
Pigeon hawk	Falco columbarius
Fiſhing hawk	Accipiter piſcatorius
Field martin	
Little owl	Strix aſio
Tyrant martin or king bird	Laninus tyrannus
Perroquet	Pſittaccus
Red headed wood pecker	Picus erythrocephalus
Large red creſted ditto	Picus pileatus
White bill ditto	Picus principalis
Gold winged ditto	Picus auratus
Red bellied ditto	Picus Carolinus
Small ſpotted ditto	Picus pubeſcens
Yellow bellied ditto	Picus varius
Hairy ditto	Picus villoſus

POPULAR

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Blue jay	Corvus criſtalus
Crow black bird	Gracula quiſcula
Baltimore bird	Oriolis Baltimore
Baſtard Baltimore ditto	Oriolis ſpurius
Carolina cuckoo	Cuculus Americanus
Field lark	
Red winged blackbird	Sturnus niger alis ſupernerubentibus [*Cateſby.*
Robin red breaſt	Turdus migratorius
Red thruſh	Turdus rufus
Mocking bird	Turdus minor cinereo albus non maculatus *Cateſby.*
Little thruſh	Turdus minimus[*Cateſby.*
Purple finch	Fringilla purpurea
Lettuce bird	Carduelis Americanus
Cowpen bird	Paſer. fuſcus. [*Cateſby.*
Little ſparrow	Paſerculus [*Cateſby.*
Towhe bird	Fringilla erythrophthalma
Blue linnet	Tanagra cyanea

Popular

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNEAN DESIGNATION.
Painted finch	Emberiza biris
Rice bird	Emberiza oryzivora
Snow bird	Emberiza hyemalis
Red bird	Loxia Cardinalis
Blue groſs beak	Loxia Cærulea
Creſted fly catcher	Muſcicapa crinita
Summer red bird	Muſcicapa rubra
Red ſtart	Muſcicapa ruticilla
Cat bird	Muſcicipa Carolinienſis
Black cap fly catcher	Muſcicapa nigreſcens
Little brown fly catcher	Muſcicapa fuſca
Red eyed fly catcher	Muſcicapa oculis rubris
Blue bird	Motacilla ſialis
Wren	Motacilla regulus
Yellow creſted chatterer	Motacilla trochilus
Whip poor Will	Caprimulgus minor Americanus [*Cateſby.*
Great bat, or goatſucker	Caprimuſgus [*Cateſby.*
Houſe martin	Hirundo purperea
American ſwallow	Hirundo pelaſgia

POPULAR

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.
Yellow titmouſe	Parus Carolinenſis [*Catesby.*
Yellow throated creeper	Parus Americanus gutture luteo [*Catesby.*
Hooded titmouſe	Parus cucullo nigro
Yellow rump	Parus Virginianus
Finch creeper	Parus Americanus
Creſted titmouſe	Parus bicolar
Nut-thatch	Sitta capite nigro [*Catesby.*
Small nut-thatch	Sitta capite fuſco [*Ditto.*
Humming bird	Trochilus colubris
Hanging bird	
Pine creeper	Certhia pinus
King fiſher	Alcedo alcyon
Kildee	Charadrius vociferus
Soree	Rallus Virginianus
Ground dove	Columba paſſerina
Wild pigeon	Columba migrateria
Turtle dove	Columba Carolinienſis
Lark	Allauda Alpeſtris

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.
Night Hawk	
Cat owl	
Screech owl	Strix Americana (Briſſ.)
Crow	Corvus
Crane	Ardea Canadenſis
Whet hawk	
Great grey eagle	
Feather head turkey buzzard	
Large pouch pelican	
Raven	
Houſe ſwallow	Hirundo ruſtica [illegible]
Ground ſwallow	Hirundo riparia {Linn.
Cormorant	
Squatting ſnipe	
Whiſtling plover	
Woodcock, or mud hen	
Yellow winged ſnipe	
Red bird with black wings	
Wagtail	

Popular Names.	Linnæan Designation.
Wild gooſe	Anas canadenſis
Buffel head duck	Anas bucephala
Small brown duck	Anas ruſtica
White face teal	Anas diſcros
Blue winged teal	
Green winged teal	
Summer duck	Anas ſponſa
Blue winged ſhovler	Anas Americanes chriſtaluſclegans [*Cateſby.*
Round creſted duck	Mergus cucullatus
Pied bill dopchick	Colymbus podiceps
Large creſted heron	Ardea Herodias
Creſted bittern	Ardea violacea
Blue heron	Ardea cærulea
Small bittern	Ardia vireſcens
Small white heron	Ardea æquinoctialis
Indian hen	Ardea ſtellaris Americana [*Cateſby.*
Wood pelican	Tantalus loculator
White curlew	Tantalus alber
Brown curlew	Tantalus fuſcus

We have beſides, the duck and mallard, widgeon, canvaſs back, wood duck, black duck, ſprig tail, white head duck, black head duck, ballcoot, water pheaſant, mow bird, blue peter, ſwan, loon, mountain pheaſant, or grouſe, which I mentioned in a former letter, quail, wild turkey, &c. &c.

I have now, my dear friend, complied with your wiſh as far as it is in my power; a country ſo new and extenſive requires more time, and more room, than a letter will admit of to give you a complete idea of its natural hiſtory; but, I flatter myſelf, it will afford you a general idea upon the ſubject; and when the unfolding covers of a new creation, juſt burſting from the womb of nature, ſhall draw men of ſcience to trace and inveſtigate the various phænomena which this country exhibits, I have no doubt but the world will receive much pleaſure and inſtruction.

The moment I have been able to collect an accurate account of the preſent numbers of the different tribes of Indians, which have hitherto been conſiderably exaggerated, I will write to you upon the ſubject. In the mean time I ſhall remain,

Your true and affectionate friend.

LET-

LETTER XI.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

YOU will, no doubt, have heard of the defeat of our army, with the particulars, before this will reach you. It is ſurpriſing, that the experience of upwards of thirty years warfare with the Indians, ſhould not have taught us before now, that our ſucceſs or loſs in theſe rencontres was to be expected alone from the abilities or talents of the Commanding Officer.

From the time of the defeat of General Braddock to the preſent period, the Americans have been ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful in theſe expeditions, in the exact proportion to the knowledge which our Generals have had of Indian dexterity and ſtratagem.

No man is more willing to allow to General St. Clair the merit of being an accompliſhed gentleman, a brave and judicious officer, than I am.

I am. But I cannot help lamenting, at the ſame time, that men are not employed upon theſe occaſions (when there are ſo many in the United States), who have from their infancy been accuſtomed to ſuch perils, and practiſed in the neceſſary vigilance, to ward off the effects of that ſingular proweſs of thoſe heroic people.

There is an error ſomewhere. I am afraid that our General confided too much in the comparative ſtrength and diſcipline of his army. It would have been better if he had recollected an expreſſion of the late King of Pruſſia: "However well-founded any good opinion of ourſelves may be, ſecurity in war is always dangerous; and rather than be negligent, it is better to take ſuperfluous precaution." Our army certainly was taken by ſurpriſe. They had not time to form when the enemy commenced their attack, which proves the juſtneſs of that great ſoldier's reflection*.

Every

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* Since this letter was written I have been able to aſcertain more particularly the object of the expedition conducted by General St. Clair, and the cauſe of his being defeated.

By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence

Every man who engages in the perilous vocation of a ſoldier ought to recollect before-
hand,

to

dependence of the United States, it was ſtipulated and agreed to by Great Britain, that the fortreſſes of Niagara and Detroit ſhould be delivered up to the United States as immediately as it could be done with convenience. Whether it proceeded from the repreſentations made by the government of Canada to the miniſters of Great Britain, or not, I cannot preſume to determine; but it is certain thoſe plans are properly conſidered of more importance than was at firſt imagined by the Britiſh Court; and it is an indubitable truth, the moment they are poſſeſſed by the Americans, that inſtant the Engliſh fur trade of Canada will be reduced more than one half of what it is at preſent.

This declaration, as it comes from an American, may be conſidered as impolitic; but I have thrown it out purpoſely to ſhew how little the faith of treaties are to be depended upon, when they are found to claſh with the important intereſts of the contracting parties,—and as I conſider every ſpecies of policy, which has not integrity for its baſis, mean and contemptible.

As the United ſtates had waited more than ſeven years in expectation that the Britiſh Government would fulfil this engagement, and finding it was not then convenient for them to abandon thoſe forts, they determined to eſtabliſh a garriſon at the mouth of the Miami, of the lake which was to have been ſupported by a chain of communication with Pittſburg, and for the acquiſition of this purpoſe was the object of this expedition.

Fort Waſhington, at the mouth of the Muſkingum, and Fort Jefferſon, between the head waters of the Scioto and St. Mary's river, which empties into Lake Erie, a ſhort diſtance from Sanduſky, had been previouſly eſtabliſhed, and the next object

was

hand, the ſacrifices he will be obliged to make of pleaſurable indulgence, and, in many inſtances,

of

was to eſtabliſh a third, ſouth eaſt of Sanduſky, upon thoſe ridges of hills where the waters of the lake, and thoſe of the Ohio, take different directions.

Had this plan been effected, though the Indians might at times have haraſſed theſe poſts, ſtill the purpoſe for which they would have been created muſt have anſwered; as it is impoſſible for them to carry on their attacks regularly, or for any length of time, by reaſon of their deſultory manner of living; and thus, by our becoming permanently fixed upon the lake, we ſhould at once have given a decided blow to your trade in Canada; for it was the intention of the federal government, not to permit any perſon to trade within the limits of the United States in that quarter, without a written privilege for that purpoſe, ſigned by the Preſident of Congreſs.

The army of General St. Clair, which was to have atchieved this important end, amounted to about 1400 men, great part of which were militia; and moſt of the others, inconceivable as it may appear, were recruited from the ſea-port towns upon the Atlantic; and of courſe were compoſed of men who were totally unexperienced with the Indian manner of fighting; beſides a large proportion of theſe were Europeans.

General St. Clair had advanced between twenty and thirty miles in front of Fort Jefferſon in his route toward Lake Erie, when about ſixty of the militia deſerted with an intention to return to their reſpective homes, after whom he diſpatched 300 of his men, they conſiſting of the only old troops he had in his army; and it was in the abſence of this detachment, that his army was attacked, juſt at the break of day; after the troops, moſt imprudently, had left the parade at which they had been

ſome

of his conſtitution. But when a ſervice of danger calls him to the defence of his country, or to

ſome time before it was light, according to the cuſtom in Indian war, though his out poſts had been attacked inceſſantly during the whole night, and ſeveral of his centinels killed. The Indians, finding the army was thin of their guard, ruſhed upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, as to prevent their being able to form, or to act with any vigour or preciſion.

This grand object has not been abandoned by the federal government, and for the purpoſe of ca rying it into execution, by meaſures more wiſe, and means more certain, than had been purſued hitherto, 3000 federal troops, with a legion of 1200 horſe and foot, are to be kept in continual pay; and while the different garriſons are to over-awe the Indians, the legion is to ſcour the country round, ſo as to ſecure the ſettlements on the weſt ſide of the Ohio from their attacks, and thus by progreſſive and permanent eſtabliſhments ward off the dangers of irregular and predatory warfare.

This ſyſtem has already produced a very important effect: — the more intelligent Indian chiefs are ſo perfectly ſenſible, that it is now in vain for them to contend againſt a population, which is daily invigorated by the current of emigration, which, like a perennial plant, ſhews no ſigns of decay, that they have promiſed to puniſh thoſe audacious fugitives, who murdered our Commiſſioners that were going to their nations for the purpoſe of offering them peace; and have alſo agreed to a ceſſation of hoſtilities while the preliminaries are ſettling; ſo that I have no heſitation in declaring it as my opinion, that, if the preſent meaſures are purſued with wiſdom and vigour, there will be a ſpeedy end to war and maſſacre in that quarter, and the whole weſtern country muſt then enjoy that repoſe, which has ſo often and ſo fatally been diſturbed by the incendiaries both of Canada and Louiſiana.

avenge the inſults which tyranny or barbariſm have offered, it becomes ignominious not cheerfully to forego every gratification which is incompatible with heroiſm. It is equally ignominious to put any conſideration in competition with the certainty of ſucceſs.

I know that it has been much the caſe with us to relax in diſcipline for fear of haraſſing our men. In Indian wars it is neceſſary to obſerve this rule, which infallibly leads to victory when the combat otherwiſe is upon an equal footing—Never be ſurpriſed. To prevent which, it is only neceſſary to move with ſtrong and active flanks, to keep powerful and vigilant guards, and to have your whole army under arms every morning at leaſt an hour before break of day; which will effectually prevent a ſurpriſe, as the Indians never attack when their enemy is in force during the night. Move in compact order, and though you may be haraſſed in a degree, yet with an army of two thouſand men well appointed, it would be no difficult matter to paſs through the whole weſtern country.

I hope I have not appeared too ſtrenuous in endeavouring to wipe away the ſtain, which our recent defeat has brought upon the valour of my countrymen. There has appeared a languor in the execution of our meaſures reſpecting Indian affairs, which has not only brought an *obloquy* upon the wiſdom of our councils, but has ſubjected us to loſſes that are as baneful to our population, as they are affecting to our ſympathy.

Many of us have cauſe to mourn the loſs of ſome friend or dear relation. Among the ſlain was a youth of the moſt promiſing hopes and ſplendid talents—talents which might have proved ornamental to his country, and uſeful to mankind.

I know you will excuſe me for appropriating to the death of my young friend, with a ſlight alteration, thoſe beautiful lines in the Iliad with which Homer deſcribes the death of Euphorbus :[*]

The

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[*] As the young Olive, in ſome Silvan ſcene,
Crown'd by freſh fountains with eternal green,
Lifts the gay head, in ſnowy flow'rets fair,
And plays and dances to the gentle air.
When lo ! a whirlwind from high heav'n invades
The tender plant, and withers all its ſhades ;
It lies uprooted from its genial bed,

A lovely ruin now defac'd and dead.
Thus young, thus beautiful, "brave Marſhal" lay,
While the fierce "Indian" tore his life away."

The expedition conducted under the command of General Scott terminated with ſucceſs. Indeed, from the firſt ſettlement of Kentucky not one of our expeditions have failed. The watchful Indians, who are always near us, and ſcarcely ever to be diſcovered but in force, obſerve the motions of our army, and readily determine from our vigilance whether an attack will prove hazardous to them or not.

I ſhall begin my enumeration with the ſouthern Indians, and proceed with thoſe of the greateſt proximity; taking care to comprehend in the ſchedule the various tribes that we have any diſtinct knowledge of to the northward of the chain of lakes, which bounds our empire to the north, and thoſe to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſouth of the Miſouri.

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Cherokees	In the country between the Great Bend of the Tenaſee and the ridges	

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
	of hills (which are called the Allegany mountains), the weſtern limits of Georgia, and the eaſtern branches of the Mobile	2500
Chacktaws	Between the ſaid Great Bend, the Miſſiſſippi, and Natchez	6000
Upper Creeks	Between the head branches of the river Apalachies, Eaſt Florida, the Cherokee nation, and the Miſſiſſippi	2500
Lower Creeks	Between the Upper Creeks and the Gulf of Mexico	1000
Natches	A little to the eaſt of the Natchez	100
Alibamons	Between the Natchez and New Orleans	400
Chickaſaws	Between the ſouthern limits of Cumberland,	

the

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
	the Chacktaw nation, and the head waters of the Mobile	500
Lezars	Between the mouth of the Ohio and Wabaſh	300
Piankiſhas, Vermilions, and Maſcontins	Between the Wabaſh and Illinois	600
Illinois	Near Cahokia	260
Kaſkaſkias	Near Kaſkaſkia	250
Pianrias	Upon the Illinois river	400
Shakies	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabaſh	170
Upper Piankiſhas	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabaſh	300
Onitatonons	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabaſh	260
Miamis	Near Fort St. Joſeph	200
Twigtwees	Upon the Great Miami river near Fort Miami	200
Wyandots	Between Fort St. Joſeph and Detroit	200
Cohun[illegible]wagas	Near Sanduſky	200

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Mingoes	On a ſouthern branch of the Sciota	50
Mohiccons	Between the Sciota and Muſkingham	40
Shawnees	On the head branches of the Sciota (reduced by the late action to leſs than)	250
Delawares	In the country between Lake Erie and the head branches of the Muſkingum, who have alſo ſuffered in the late different actions, and it is ſuppoſed they are reduced from 600 to	450
Delawares, or Linnelinopies	At different villages upon the north branch of the Suſquehanna	400
Aughquagahs	Upon an eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna	150
Nanticocs	Between Owegy and the moſt eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna	80

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Mohiccons	Between Chegnet and Owegy, upon a branch of the Suſquehanna	70
Conoies	Between Utſanango and Chagnet, to the eaſtward of the moſt eaſternmoſt branch of the Suſquehanna	40
Saponies	Upon a north branch of the Suſquehanna	30
Munſies	At Diahago, upon the north branch of the Suſquehanna	120
Senecas	Upon the waters of the Ohio, Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Suſquehanna	350
Cayugas	Upon the Cayuga, and near the north branch of the Suſquehanna	130
Onondagoes	Near Onondago	200
Oneidas	On the eaſt ſide of Oneida, and head branches of the Suſquehanna	250

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
Tuſcaroras	Between the Oneidas and Onandagoes	170
Mohocks	Upon the weſtern branch of Mohock river	140
(The laſt-mentioned ſix tribes conſtitute what are known by the name of the Six Nations.)		
Orondocs	Near the three rivers	100
Abenakies	Near the three rivers	150
Little Algonkins	Near the three rivers	100
Pouteotamies	Between St. Joſeph's and Detroit	270
Outawas	Near Detroit	500
Chippawas	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	200
Ottawas (a different tribe)	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	150
Chippawas (ſeveral tribes of)	Near Michillimackinac, fort St. Mary's, on lake Superior, and upon the ſouthern ſhores of that lake	5500
Shakies	Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	400

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
Mynomamies	Near Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	300
Ouiſconſings	Ouiſconſing river	300
Kickapous	Upon the ſouthern head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, and the waters of lake Michigan	200
Otogamies	Between the lake of the Wood and Miſſiſſippi	300
Maſcoutens	On lake Michigan, and between that and the Miſſiſſippi	400
Miſcothins	Between lake Michigan and the Miſſiſſippi	340
Outimacs	Between lake Michigan and lake St. Clare	200
Muſquakies	Upon the ſouthern waters of lake Michigan	200
Sioux	On the eaſtern head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, and the iſlands of lake Superior	500

Tribes.	Where they reside.	No.
Ottagaumies	On the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi	300
Winnibagoes	On the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi	200
Killiſtinoes	On lake Superior	250
Naudoweſſies	Between Michigan and lake Superior	500
Oſevegatchies	Near Swegatchy, on the river St. Lawrence	100
Connaſedagoes	Near Montreal	90
Cohunnewagues	Near Montreal	150
Michmacs	On the river St. Lawrence	500
Ameliſtis	On the river St. Lawrence	400
Chalas	On the river St. Lawrence	130
Nipiſſins	Near the head waters of the Ottawas rivers	300
Algonquins	Towards the head waters of the Ottawas river	250
Round-heads	On riviere aux Teres boules, or Round-head river	2000
Meſſaſagues	Between lake Superior and lake Huron	1500
[illegible]	Upon lake Chriſtineaux	1200

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Aſſinaboes	Lake Aſſinaboes	1200
Barbus, or Blancs	Between lake Aſſinaboes and the lake of the Wood	1400
Sioux of the Meadows	On the head and weſtern branches of the Miſſiſſippi	2500
Sioux of the Woods	On the head and weſtern branches of the Miſſiſſippi	4000
Sioux	Between the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi and Miſouri	3000
Ajoues	North of the Padoucas	1000
White Panis	South-eaſt of the Miſouri	1500
Speckled Panis	South of the Miſouri	1200
Padoucas	South of the Miſouri	500
Grandeſeaux	South of the Miſouri	800
Canſes	South of the Miſouri	1000
Oſages	South of the Miſouri	400
Miſouris	On the Miſouri	1500
Arkanzas	On the river Arkanzas	1000

There are ſeveral other tribes, known by the name of Caouitas, Linways, Webings, Ouſaſoys Les Puans, Folle Avoine, Mineamis, &c. &c. But the different tribes have been ſo confounded one with another, that it is impoſſible to collect any diſtinct information reſpecting their ſituation or numbers; which I apprehend has proceeded from the imperfect knowledge travellers have had of the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and to the north of lake Michigan and lake Superior; and which has precluded the poſſibility of gaining any accurate intelligence from them. However the above liſt has been corrected from the accounts of Croghan, Boquet, Carver, Hutchins, and Dodge, and by the comparative teſtimony of the beſt informed men I have been able to meet with; and whoſe knowledge upon this ſubject, though they have not written, I ſhould prefer to either of the above authorities, who were obliged to take the greateſt part of what they have related, from hearſay, or proceed upon conjecture.

There are ſeveral vagrant tribes, called Chiakaneſſou, Ouanakina, Machecous, and Souikilas, from the Cherokees, Chacktaws, and Creeks; but I ſhould ſuppoſe, theſe included, that my account of thoſe tribes is tolerably exact.

By this liſt, which I preſume will appear as accurate as the ſubject will admit of, the aggregate numbers of Indians will be found leſs than 60,000 who inhabit the country from the gulf of Mexico, on both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi, to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far weſt as the country has been explored, that is, to the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi, and from thence to the Miſouri (I do not mean the head of it), and between that river and Santa Fe.

I have been able to learn very little information reſpecting the Indians between Santa Fe and the gulf of Mexico, and ſtill leſs of thoſe who inhabit the country between the river St. Joſeph's and California. However we are in no way affected by them at preſent; and it is not very likely that we ever ſhall: for, it is to be preſumed, that the federal government, in the extenſion of its empire, will take ſuch precautions as muſt prevent the horrors of ſuch ſanguinary warfare and maſſacre, as have hitherto marked the progreſs of its growth.

Certainly it is time that decided meaſures were taken, if poſſible, to civilize them; and if not, to confine them to particular diſtricts; that is, by the vigour of our meaſures, to ſhew them that we are not to be trifled with; and whenever a tract of country is to be ſettled, let the demarkation be obvious, and the terms of ſettlement definitive; and by affording protection to the pacific, and chaſtiſing the licentious, it may be expected in time, that ſome amelioration will take place in their ſavage and ſanguinary diſpoſitions.

You will obſerve that the moſt numerous tribes are the greateſt diſtance from us; and it is very certain, that in proportion to their diſtance from the whites, they are unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. All the nations north of lake Superior, and thoſe beyond the Miſſiſſippi, as well as thoſe on the Miſouri, uſe only bows and arrows; ſo that when you take a view of their ſcattered ſituation, the various cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions which it is neceſſary to reconcile, in order to produce perſeverance and unity of action, and what a ſmall proportion of them have the apparatus, or underſtand the uſe of muſquetry, or poſſeſs reſources ſufficient to enable them to carry on laſting hoſtilities againſt the power of our increaſing numbers, it muſt be obvious, that even our defeats will haſten their ruin.

Though we (or rather the federal troops) have been defeated ſeveral times, yet we ſhall ſoon eſtabliſh a permanent ſecurity againſt ſavage invaſions and maſſacre; for, though we have not acted entirely like Hercules, who deſtroyed the ſerpents while an infant in his cradle, ſtill, I preſume, we ſhall do it in our approach to maturity.

The French, by conciliating the manners of the ſavages, and by their diffuſing a more general knowledge among them of the uſe of fire-arms, firſt rendered them formidable to the whites. The animoſity continued to exiſt until the commencement of the late war, *when that* *very policy was practiſed by the Engliſh, which they had formerly ſo ſeverely reprobated in the French.*

In the various ſkirmiſhes and actions which have been fought between us, they have acquired a moſt wonderful dexterity and heroic intrepidity, but, in theſe acquiſitions, they probably have laid the foundation of their own *extinction*; for our defeats but add to our ſtrength; and when you recollect their comparative numbers with ours, and the comparative ſecundity of our women, I think the circumſtance does not appear problematical.

However, that is not our wiſh. We would gladly teach them the bleſſings of peace; and ſo far did the Aſſembly of Virginia carry this diſpoſition, in the year 1784, that, the more effectually to accelerate ſo deſirable an end, they took it into conſideration to paſs an act offering bounties to ſuch men and women as would intermarry with the Indians. But as the animoſities which then exiſted between them and the back ſettlers had ariſen to ſuch a height, it was thought moſt adviſeable to poſtpone it until there ſhould be a ſtable peace, and till the whites and they were reconciled; but that never will be the caſe until we are in poſſeſſion of Niagara and Detroit. Farewell.

A TABLE